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ABSTRACT

The conference was held to alert teachers and other interested persons to the complexities of linguistic diversity in Australia, with attention focused on the immigrant child. This report includes the individual conference papers, presented by Marta Rado, Bert Townsend, Michael Clyne, Alan Matheson, and Rede Lar, and the comments of symposium and forum participants. The implications of bilingualism and biculturalism are analyzed from the standpoint of language development, language contact, social integration, social mobility, and communication interference. Principals and teachers elaborate on the practical problems encountered in schools with a high degree of immigrant intake. The Multilingual Project, a form of bilingual education developed at La Trobe University, is discussed by school staff who had direct experience with the materials, and its theoretical foundations are described. English-speaking teachers can participate in this program with the help of bilingual pupils, parents, or other assistants. Materials are student-centered, with emphasis on conceptual development. Learners may study in the language of their preference. Project materials are produced in parallel forms of English and immigrant languages, and the units are suitable for independent or small group study. (Author/CLK)

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BILINGUAL EDUCATION

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Marta Rado

CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

MAY 3rd

Welcoming Remarks:

Professor Brian Crittenden, Dean, School of Education, La Trobe University.

Implications of bilingualism

Dr. M. Rado, La Trobe University

The educational consequences of linguistic deprivation

Mr. Bert Townsend, La Trobe University.

Language contact and language ecology in Australia

Ass. Professor Michael Clyne, Monash University

MAY 4th

Social consequences of being a bilingual

Mr. Alan Matheson, Ecumenical Migration Centre

Symposium: Bilingualism and community commitment to schooling

Mr. Leslie Claydon, La Trobe University
Mr. G. Derek Fowler, Australian Department of Education
Dr. Tony Knight, La Trobe University
Miss Patricia Pablete, Collingwood High School

Communication interference and bilingual groups

Dr. Rede Lar, La Trobe University

Forum: Practical implications - Principals and Teachers

Mr. Gavan Boyle, Prahran High School
Mrs. Shayne Boyd, Princes Hill High School
Mr. Max Peter, Coburg High School
Mrs. June Engish, Brunswick Girls' High School

General Discussion

WELCOMING REMARKS

Brian Crittenden

It is a pleasure for me to welcome you to La Trobe University for this Conference on Bilingual Education. Marta Rado has kindly invited me to make some introductory remarks. I would like to thank her for this opportunity and to congratulate her on organising the Conference.

Although the theme is not one on which I can claim any expert knowledge, it does involve, or closely relates to, a number of issues with which I am more familiar. I would like to mention briefly three broad groups of such issues.

The first group includes philosophical questions in which the nature of language is of central concern. For example, what account do we give of meaning? What relationship do we see between language and the acquisition and use of concepts? Where do we stand in relation to the contemporary version of the rationalist-empiricist debate between the Chomskyites and the Skinnerians? That the answer one gives to these questions does make a practical difference for the teaching of language, is conspicuously clear in Bereiter and Engelmann's book, Teaching Disadvantaged Children in the Pre-School. In their proposed language teaching program, the authors reflect a simplistic reference

theory of meaning, subscribe to abstractionism as an adequate account of how concepts are learned, and adopt an incremental step-by-step conditioning procedure.

Another question belonging to this first group refers to the significance of language as a human activity. Is it merely an instrument for communication, and in this function useful mainly for discursive thought? Or does the use of language have a far more pervasive and fundamental role? Without attempting to elaborate, I would suggest the following claims: (1) Man is distinguished by the kind of language he possesses; the symbolic context that distinguishes all specifically human behaviour would be impossible without a language through which present and particular experience can be related to what is remote and general or universal. (Jonathan Bennett has argued that the ability to employ language of this kind is precisely what rationality consists in. (Bennett, 1964) It is also in the use of such language that human beings can achieve what we mean by 'understanding'.) (2) Rational thought and thus human language have an integral place in the whole range of distinctively human experiences. The dichotomy of the cognitive and the affective is a radically pernicious one. (3) The learning of language cannot be detached from the context of the human practises in which it functions.

As Julius Kovesi has pointed out, "language games are not word games; they are activities of which language is a part." (Kovesi 1967, p.42)

One consequence of these points is that the learning of a language simply as an instrument of formal education would seem to have serious shortcomings.

The second group of background issues relating to the theme of this Conference concerns normative theory of education. Like various other expressions of the form 'such-and-such education', I assume that 'bilingual education' can be interpreted in a number of ways. It might refer to certain areas of study within the general scheme of a curriculum, or to a distinct total form of education, or to the range of educational issues that arise in the case of those whose home language is not the language of the school. But in these, and any other possibilities, it is obvious that some position must inevitably be taken, either implicitly or explicitly, on the general nature of education. Assuming that we are talking about the practice of education that involves the institution of the school: should education be interpreted as predominantly a process of socialisation? Should the school provide a systematic introduction to the main aspects of culture, understanding 'culture' more or less in the sense that Matthew Arnold used it, or should the school be pre-occupied with the values and practices of a local community?

Is schooling to be valued mainly for the increased social and economic opportunity it affords? Should the school be seen as having an important but limited role in the total education of a human being or should it be a kind of omnibus institution? How one answers such questions as these will surely make a difference to what one is prepared to say about bilingual education.

Finally, there are aspects of bilingual education that cannot be resolved without raising a range of questions in moral and social philosophy. Probably the most significant issue here is the clash between cultural pluralism and integration as social ideals. The great influx of non-English-speaking migrants to Australia in the past quarter of a century has raised the question of cultural pluralism here in a fundamentally new way. Apart from the special problem of the relationship between the whites and the aboriginals, pluralism was associated before this time almost exclusively with religion. Certainly this is true of education; and in this respect, the prevailing policy in Australia has been heavily on the side of integration.

A related controversy is that of centralised political control versus the relative autonomy of local communities. The general character of education in Australia, both in its organisation and theory, has of course been monolithic. It is only very recently that we have begun the interesting and dangerous experiment of making the political and economic

control of education more centralised in order to promote diversity and local initiative.

During the past few decades, both centralism and integration have been attacked for their part in the development of what is derisively called 'mass culture'. The critics tend to be very selective in their examples of 'mass culture', and often seem to assume that diversity is a good in itself. However, the point is that active fostering of different cultural groups is defended by appealing to principles of personal and community freedom and by arguing that the quality of culture in the whole society will benefit from the interaction of diverse cultural traditions. In following these lines of argument, an American writer recently concluded that "a child should be taught by educated adults of his own cultural background and in the language in which his self identification has been made." (Itzkoff, 1969, p.145) I wonder if the arguments, at least when applied in the Australian conditions, lead quite as far as this. Even if the policy were adopted, I also wonder how effective it would be, in the Australian conditions, in promoting the vitality of the migrants' cultural traditions. It seems to me that these depend not so much on formal schooling as on the pattern of life in the whole community - even to the details of how a city is designed.

There are also more directly moral questions: for example, about the relative rights of parents in determining the kind of education their children should have, and about the role of those who make and implement policies on the education of bilingual children. In relation to the latter, there is a difficult path to be followed between simply doing whatever the parents and members of the cultural group want, and manipulating them into doing what the experts believe they should want.

The various groups of questions which I have referred to are, of course, controversial. Assuming I am correct about their relevance to the topic of bilingual education, we may expect to have some lively discussion and to hear views that disturb our own assumptions. Even if the Conference were to do nothing more than this, it would still be a worthwhile experience.

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THE IMPLICATIONS OF BILINGUALISM

Marta Rado

Introduction

It is my conviction that migrant (1) education is at the crossroads in Australia. There is a growing awareness in the community that the successful integration of immigrant students into our school system depends on a multiplicity of factors. These must be understood before successful planning can go forward. The aim of this Conference is to concentrate on one such factor, namely the bilingual status of immigrant students. We wish to discuss the fact that children with a non-English-speaking background have a mother tongue which they could use in the learning process. Bilingual education takes this into account.

This form of education is not entirely new in Australia. It has been adopted and is in the process of development in the teaching of Aboriginal children. It could be argued that this approach is equally applicable to our migrant groups. I consider the composition of this Conference membership as proof that there is widespread interest at present in the bilingual, bi-cultural status of immigrant students and some of its corollaries such as bilingual education.

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(1) In Australia the terms 'migrant' and 'immigrant' are used interchangeably.

The Conference membership is significant because it represents all sections of educational institutions, from early childhood education to tertiary education. All branches of the Education Department of Victoria are represented, as well as other educational and welfare organizations in Victoria, New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory, including delegates from the Australian Education and Immigration Departments.

Who is a bilingual?

Before the educational implications of bilingualism can be seriously discussed, we need to define what we mean by this term. In the popular view, a bilingual is a person who commands two or more languages equally well. Linguists refer to this as balanced bilingualism. It is an ideal state and therefore rare. Linguists, particularly sociolinguists, have attempted to broaden the concept to include all possible types of bilinguals. The definition of this broader concept of bilingualism has proved difficult. For the purposes of this Conference I propose that we consider a bilingual an individual who can function in two language environments.

Such a definition includes people who can interact appropriately with interlocutors in more than one language, e.g. children of immigrants who are addressed in the parents' language and answer in English. Accordingly, most first

generation children of immigrants, whether born in Australia or abroad can be classified as bilinguals, irrespective of their active command of their parents' language or their competence in English. It also includes many second generation immigrants in whose extended family the language of the ethnic group has been maintained, so that they are fairly regularly exposed to it. It does not include the learner of a foreign language as a school subject such as French, German or Indonesian, as the use of these languages is restricted to artificially created classroom situations and does not enter the individual's daily life. Clearly, my definition identifies individuals in a way that is congruent with our intuitive judgement as to who is a bilingual and who is not.

Compared with the monolingual who can only function in one language environment, the bilingual is more skilled. He can function in two. Yet, this additional knowledge does not help him in our schools. On the contrary, it is branded as a disadvantage. I would maintain that this 'disadvantage' is due to the fact that the school does not use the whole of the immigrant student's linguistic repertoire. His competence in the mother tongue is ignored. Such competence is considered a private matter. It is assumed that the immigrant child can maintain the mother tongue simply by using it in the home.

At best, mother tongue maintenance is tolerated rather than encouraged, as many teachers believe that it impedes progress in English. On the basis of this ill-founded belief, migrant parents and children are advised to forget the mother tongue, to discard a language skill intimately bound up with all aspects of their personal development. Schools that adopt this kind of policy of language repression breach their commitment to cater for the child according to his knowledge; to take him from where he stands and give him the opportunity to develop his talents in a way congruent with his skills. If teaching methods are to take the students' knowledge and inclination into account, then bilinguals must be given the option to learn bilingually.

The nature of bilingualism

a) Advantage

On the basis of contemporary linguistic research it can be argued that a bilingual's language skills are not radically different from those of a monolingual.
There is some evidence that bilingualism is a particular kind of language expansion. According to a recent research report from Canada (Neufeld, 1973, p.35) "the bilingual possesses not two but one basic internal dictionary where words in both languages are pooled". I would go further and suggest that

bilinguals possess a common pool of language, because vocabulary and grammar are not independent components of language.

Yet, claims such as that made by Cummins (1973 p.5), that there are "observed differences in the cognitive functioning of bilinguals and unilinguals" must be taken seriously. Cummins refutes Macnamara's argument that bilingualism does not significantly affect intelligence or creativity. He maintains that there are two general ways in which bilingualism might influence cognitive growth - the specifically linguistic and the non-linguistic.

Cummins quotes such as Leopold, Peal, Lambert and Tucker who give linguistic explanations for the "superiority of bilinguals on tests of general reasoning and verbal intelligence." (p. 6) "the bilingual's higher level of concept formation is explained as a direct result of the fact that he has two words for the same referent." (p.7) "This may force the bilingual to conceptualize things and events in terms of general properties rather than relying on their linguistic symbols". (p. 6) The non-linguistic explanations favouring bilinguals are based on the social use of language.

Language use entails choice for monolinguals as well as

bilinguals. Every time a speaker expresses his intention in linguistic form he has several options. The following examples could serve to illustrate some of these options or language styles.

One could ask for the completion of a task by saying:

1. If you don't hand in your assignment by the set date it will not be marked and you will not be credited for this term's work. (Teacher to student)
2. Darling, you know my boss does not like latecomers, please be ready on time tonight. (One spouse to another)
3. Do it and keep quiet! (Parent to child, peer to peer, etc.)
4. When could you come and check my washing machine? I find it difficult to do without it. (Customer to tradesman)

The principles governing the choice of styles are fairly obvious. According to Fishman(1972), the language variety chosen depends on who speaks to whom, when and where. The expression "language variety" is a useful one because it covers both style switching within a language and switching from one language to another. Fishman's statement is significant because it implies that style or language choice is not random but follows socially determined rules. Our intuitive knowledge of sociolinguistic rules can be compared to our knowledge of grammatical rules. The

acquisition and application of both is based on unconscious processes. They can also be compared from the point of view of complexity. The possible combination of speakers, listeners, modes of communication (speech, writing) language varieties, topics and situations (Hymes 1970) would be difficult to enumerate. In order to deal with this problem linguists have developed the concept of domains. Greenfield (1972) has identified and tested five domains in the language use of bilinguals, i.e. family, friendship, religion, education and employment. There is now a fair consensus of opinion among sociolinguists that a speaker's language use is domain specific, so that bilinguals switch languages the way monolinguals switch styles. From the sociolinguistic point of view individuals do not vary only according to vocabulary size and grammatical sophistication, but also according to their range of styles including distinct languages and their expertise in employing these. Clearly, this expertise is based on a person's experiences. It can be assumed that a wide range of contacts would lead to a richer repertoire, and a greater command of styles. According to the researchers (Liedke and Nelson, Peal and Lambert) quoted by Cummins (1973, pp. 5&6) the higher level of concept formation attributed to bilinguals stems from a greater amount and a wider range of social interactions, due to participation in two cultures.

Evidently, some linguists consider bilingualism as a liberation from the constraints imposed by a particular language. As each language structures reality somewhat differently, knowledge of more than one language helps the bilingual to develop a wider perspective and enables him to trascend the arbitrary limitations of his mother tongue.

Bilinguals themselves also value their additional language skills. In support of this statement I can summarize my own research findings based on interviews with a group of 15 to 18 year old bilingual adolescents in Victorian secondary schools. From a number of immigrant students who completed a questionnaire, some were selected for these interviews because they spontaneously answered the questions bilingually. I was under the impression that by so doing they wished to draw attention to the fact that they had an adequate mastery of both their mother tongue and English. They reported that they used the mother tongue at home, with relatives, family and friends, occasionally in shops and in the street. They used English at school, with peers and generally outside the home. The nature of their social contacts required at least an oral competence in two languages. This competence in turn gave them a sense of security because it helped them to express themselves. If a word or phrase was not available in one language they could

always use the other. Moreover, they regarded Australia as a multilingual and multi-cultural society where bilinguals had better job opportunities. So far as their self-concept was concerned, the mother tongue was part of their identity and played a role in their loyalty to family and country of origin, to which they wished to return as visitors, but not as settlers. They were now used to Australia, liked it, and wanted to live here permanently. Their reading habits also showed that they made an effort to remain literate in their mother tongue. Although many of them spoke a regional dialect at home, they respected the standard language (in their words the 'pure' language) which they considered more useful as it made communications with speakers of other dialects possible. They hoped their children would learn their mother tongue thereby ensuring the cultural continuity of their group. They saw multilingualism as a force leading to greater understanding among members of the Australian society. Therefore they advocated language maintenance for immigrants and foreign language learning for all Australians. The languages they mentioned for inclusion in the curriculum included the traditionally taught French, and German, as well as the main immigrant languages. What do these subjective views tell us about adolescents in Australia who consider

themselves competent bilinguals? How could their opinions help us in planning migrant education? Why are their views and those of linguists contradicted by the practical situation in schools? What is the explanation for this apparent contradiction between theory and practice?

b) Disadvantage

Bilingualism is a disadvantage in our schools because it is at best ignored, at worst suppressed. Our school system has been developed for a monolingual population, but all students irrespective of their language background, are expected to fit into it. Generally children who do not fit easily into our educational system are labelled problem children.

So now we have the problem of migrant children. I would argue that the problem is created by the schools not the children. The majority would not be problem children if their parents had not migrated. I am not implying that the parents are to be blamed for the problem and should have stayed in the country of their origin. They came here with our approval, often our encouragement and help, and Australia has substantially profited by its immigration policy. This policy imposes certain obligations on us vis-à-vis the migrants. One of these is the obligation to educate their children appropriately, taking their status as bilinguals into account. We must fit the school to the child and

not the child to the school as has been our practice in the past. Fitting the child to the school has taken the form of special courses in English, so that the child should be able to participate in normal class instruction as soon as possible, preferably within a few months. But otherwise there are few adjustments in school procedures to accommodate the slower scholastic progress of the immigrant student, although teachers are worried and baffled by it.

On the one hand most immigrant children achieve a level of English that far exceeds the achievement in foreign language study of our successful High School Certificate candidates. They outclass the foreign language learner in a relatively short time, often within a year. On the other hand this seemingly fluent speaker is still underachieving throughout the rest of his schooling compared with his Australian peers.

The immigrant child's scholastic predicament raises two questions.

1. Why is it difficult to learn in a weaker language?
2. Why is language development, beyond a certain level of proficiency, so slow?

Learning in a weaker language

It may well be that the difficulties encountered in learning in a weaker language is due to an overloading of the student's language processing mechanism. This could be the case even when the student appears to be fluent in the oral language when topic, lexicon and syntax are of his own choosing. But as a non-native listener and reader in specific subject matter areas, he may not be able to exploit the redundancies of formal standard English. Children of a lower socio-economic class also encounter difficulties with the school language on the basis of reduced predictability (Bernstein, 1970)

If, for whatever reason, the listener or reader is not sufficiently "in the know" he cannot predict or intelligently guess while processing language. This is undoubtedly a serious handicap. In listening and reading, (in auditory and visual perception) we are strictly limited by time. In both activities speed is at a premium. The more we know about a language and the subject matter in question, the better we can select the relevant points, the less attention we need to pay to detail, the more we can take for granted and the easier it is to process language within the time limits available to us.

If we are not overburdened by having to attend to too

many cues we can pay greater attention to meaning.
So the more we know the more efficient we become.
Since perception involves unconscious processes of the central nervous system the problem cannot be solved directly. In other words we cannot tell the learner how to perceive, that is, which cues to attend to.
But we can give him the opportunity to use all he knows - in the case of the bilingual, his two languages. This implies presentation of learning materials in both languages.

Bilingualism and language development

Why is a significant proportion of immigrant children seemingly incapable of closing the gap between their proficiency in English and that of their native English speaking peers? This is a complex question that I cannot fully answer. I will simply draw your attention to one aspect of it, i.e. the discontinuity between home and school language. I believe that this is an area that could shed some light on the immigrant students' predicament.

Because of this presently existing discontinuity, the school cannot fulfill its accepted function of developing the child's existing language. Ervin-Tripp's (1966, p. 88) comparison of the home and school language from the linguistic point of view is a useful one here.

"Speech with family and friends is likely to be repetitive, descriptive, predicative and to involve brief, situationally embedded utterances. In school, there is emphasis on information, enrichment of vocabulary to describe and explain absent objects, and differentiation of grammatical structures for logical distinctions".

In the case of the bilingual the school has to establish the basic linguistic foundations in English as well as build the superstructure. Instead of using the child's existing language which is well established through repetition, description, and situationally embedded remarks, it has to provide such basic language activities as well as establish the necessary language sophistication for subject matter learning.

In such a situation the primary school child is often faced with the difficult task of having to acquire literacy skills in an unfamiliar language. The older student meets complex linguistic forms before he has properly mastered the more general rules of English grammar. As the bilingual's language use tends to be domain specific, his ranges of vocabulary relating to home activies and to school subjects may develop unevenly. As the individual matures, he does not only expand his vocabulary by acquiring new words for new

concepts: he also extends the meanings of his existing vocabulary. This semantic charging of words known as polysemy is a lifelong activity based on experience. Discontinuity between home and school language gives the bilingual fewer chances to enrich his vocabulary in this way in both languages. In these circumstances bilingualism may become a double handicap. Because the school cannot build on the home language, which should provide the necessary base, development in English should be slowed down. Because the school often does not take any responsibility for the development of the child's home language the chances are that it will remain "repetitive, descriptive, predicative and tied to informal situations - a spoken language not underpinned by literacy skills. Frequently, it will be a dialect with limited usefulness, a private language of family and friends. In this situation colloquial speech fails to provide the student with a vigorous language capable of both influencing, and being influenced by, the official or standard language in which the learning of school subjects takes place. It is, no doubt, difficult to build up knowledge in a language that has comparatively shallow roots.

Moreover, the language of bilingual communities tends to show the effects of language contact by lexical and syntactic borrowing. The mechanism of such tranference has been well documented by Haugen (1956), Weinreich, (1974), Clyne (1967, 1972) and others, and I will not elaborate on it here. The point I wish to make is less well documented but highly pertinent from the point of view of the school language, i.e. the fact that a side effect of borrowing might be the weakening of norms. Inconsistent language models, encountered in situations outside the school, may make the bilingual's task of acquiring the school language, which demands the strict observance of norms, more difficult. At present the school exerts pressure to conform to norms in English only. This is an offical, not a social, pressure. I would argue that norms must be seen to operate in both languagesif they are to be accepted as a necessary corollary to language. If learning materials were made available bilingually, they would demonstrate how a particular idea is expressed in the standard forms, and thereby provide the learner with the sort of models he needs for observation. After all, one of the crucial factors in language development is the opportunity to observe language in action.

Bilingual education in the Australian context

In my view, bilingual education implies the use of two languages as the mediums of instruction. If the bilingual is given access to learning materials in both his languages, he can use his total linguistic knowledge to process these materials.

Such an approach would profit the student whose English is too weak to follow normal lessons. Bilingual learning materials would ensure that he can continue to expand his knowledge in subject matter areas. This would do away with the painful waiting period adolescents have to suffer in our schools, fully aware that they cannot afford missing out on subject matter learning, yet not able to participate because they are beginners in English.

It would help the bilingual whose two languages have developed in a domain specific way. One can predict, on the basis of this theory, with some measure of certainty, that bilinguals in a multilingual setting will use the mother tongue in domains such as family and friendship, and English in those of education and employment (Fishman, 1972). Although the domain theory has an overall explanatory value, it cannot provide the teacher with a list of topics and vocabulary items

used by bilingual families in their daily conversations. The value of the domain theory lies in drawing our attention to the fact that a bilingual's two languages rarely develop in a parallel fashion. This imbalance, varies from individual to individual, so that the provision of bilingual texts is essential. In order to learn efficiently, the bilingual whose home language is not English, needs both his languages. In brief, the two language versions would support him in learning and could also serve in the revision of the subject matter involved.

Bilingual education would also give those who wish to maintain or develop their bilingualism at a literacy level the opportunity to do so. Bilingual education seen this way aims at duplicating rather than replacing one language by another. In other words, for most first generation bilinguals, language maintenance seems preferable to language shift. One can further argue in favour of language maintenance on the grounds that one must not weaken language in which concepts have been learnt and are easily available; and that language maintenance is desirable from the point of view of family relations if the parents use the mother tongue in the home. I would also add that a full command of the family language enhances the adolescent's self concept. If the adolescent is illiterate in the family language or only knows the

dialect variety, he is usually apologetic about it.
Foreign language skills have a traditional place in education. It is somewhat arbitrary to tie the value of foreign language learning to French and German and now to some Asian languages.
Surely other migrant languages have an equal right to be considered as a legitimate and valuable study.
Language study, together with the opportunity to study in the language, will help migrant children to achieve the sort of balanced bilingualism that is so rarely attained.
Consequently, with the help of bilingual education, we would have young bilingual adults in our community capable of acting as go-betweens, so that we could be better advised how to plan our future migrant education policies.
These young bilingual Australians would be well equipped to tell us what sort of education young migrants value, by virtue of their identification with Australia and their knowledge of their local community.

The Multilingual Project: bilingual education in action

The Multilingual Project is a form of bilingual education specially developed for conditions in Australia.
It provides learning materials in English and native languages e.g. Arabic, Croatian, Italian, Greek, Serbian, Turkish.
The materials consist of study units suitable for independent or small group work.

The units developed to date cover a number of social science topics that could be particularly relevant to migrant adolescents in assisting them in their concept development. Care has been taken to include information about various aspects of everyday life in Australia, e.g. while learning about communications in general they are introduced to road signs used in Australia. Animals specific to Australia illustrate the unit "Animal Families" which introduces students to the basic functions of the family. Another unit introduces students to library services this should help them to work more effectively in an independent or small group study situation. The units include exercises, correction guides and various types of illustrative materials in the form of photographs, slides, tapes, games etc. These provide a necessary change from purely paper/pencil type activities.

It is assumed that the supervising teacher will not be familiar with the students' mother tongue. The dispersion of our migrant students in our schools is such that the provision of ethnic teachers for bilingual education will have to remain the exception rather than the rule, particularly in the case of the smaller groups. Yet teacher involvement in the scheme is imperative. The bilingual texts facilitate communication between teacher and student, so that with the help of the objective type exercises and correction guides the teacher can follow the students progress. The teacher

also has a vital role to play in organising classroom activities and exursions suggested by the units and in providing further activites and reading materials. The latter entails the building up of the school's library collection with suitable English and foreign language books. Furthermore, the teacher can also encourage student interaction and peer teaching in the form of explanation, discussion, reading aloud, miming etc. Older bilingual students and/or adults of the ethnic groups could also be brought in to assist. The Multilingual Project is a novel form of bilingual education. (Rado, 1973, 1974) It provides bilingual education for one or two periods during the school day and therefore is a viable proposition. It does not aim at a total bilingual program, which would be enormously time consuming and costly as it implies a great deal of text duplication and re-teaching. The Multilingual Project is already operative in some schools involving approximately 600 students who are speakers of six different languages. It will be possible to provide these students with learning materials for a whole school year. How was this achieved?

It gives me great pleasure to publicly acknowledge the support I have received, and continue to receive from the Education Department of Victoria. My particular thanks go to the recently retired Director of Secondary Education and to

the present Director, for their interest in the welfare of migrant children, and their appreciation of the theoretical and practical implications of this scheme. The project materials have been developed by teachers seconded by the Education Department. I am particularly grateful to them for their dedication to the Project, and they have shown considerable skill in shaping materials suitable for this type of learning. The Education Department also meets the cost of translating. Translators, too, have been singularly conscientious in preparing accurate mother tongue versions which have been produced in such a way that they match with the English version page by page. The Centre for the Study of Teaching and Human Interaction and the Myer Foundation, have helped to meet the cost of the actual reproduction of study units and secretarial services.

The Multilingual Project is a development and research project which should yield useful information on migrant education in general and bilingual education in particular. Clearly, the dissemination of information gained in the use of the Multilingual Project materials is one of my tasks.

I would like to mention one further point,Michael Clyne drew my attention to a discriminating clause in the Victorian Education Act (1958) which still prohibits the use of languages other than English as a medium of instruction in registered

schools. The original version of this Act was intended as a patriotic gesture during the first World War, which had the effect of closing the bilingual German schools that existed at the time. Other States either did not have such Acts, or have repealed them since. Thus, contrary to a widespread belief, the introduction of bilingual education is within the law.

The present policies, at Federal and State levels, favoring integration rather than assimilation, have created a climate that is more sympathetic towards mother tongue maintenance. In addition, the growing concern among educators for the welfare of the immigrant child and the absence of restrictive legislation in other States, makes it unlikely that the private sector would be prevented from following the lead of government schools in experimenting with bilingual education in Victoria.

Conclusion

I hope to contribute to migrant education in such a way that, in future, the immigrant child will feel that his parents' language is an asset of which the school approves. Moreover, that his knowledge can be exploited to his advantage, and that of the community, by enriching Australia's language resources and cultural heritage. My aim is to help the descendents of immigrants to feel at ease with their dual background, to attain the sort of balance 18 year old Mario Domenico has achieved:

"I was born in Australia. I don't mind being called Australian, I am not ashamed of being Italian. I'm proud of my heritage - You could say I have two - an Australian one and an Italian one."

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THE EDUCATIONAL CONSEQUENCES OF LINGUISTIC DEPRIVATION

Bert Townsend

I am not going to talk about bilingualism at all because I have no experience of it whatsoever. It is a concept which simply has not been tried, has not caught fire at all in the U.K. In the course of some research which I carried out in the U.K. in 1971-72, out of a hundred highly multi-racial secondary schools which I was examining, only four taught languages of the immigrant's country of origin and it won't surprise you to know that three of these were Greek, Italian and French. Only one was teaching Urdu. Perhaps the reason for that might be explained partly by the comment of the headmistress of the primary school in the north of England, whose school, although it was a Church of England school, was 60% Gujarati - speaking. I said to her, "Have you thought of doing anything at all about this - teaching Gujarati for instance?" She said, "Oh no, I've no time for that caper; and anyway next term I'm starting teaching them French." So it is just as well that my topic is not "Bilingual Education". So I have now confessed my total ignorance, but I can discuss quite happily the educational implications of language deprivation

and, if subsequent speakers can point out that the answer to some of the questions I raise is bilingualism then I should be quite happy for them to do so. I am also equally certain that the answer to some of the questions I shall raise is not bilingualism. But Marta Rado would never suggest, I think, for one minute that it was the total panacea.

Let us take the case of the child who comes into this country - I am sorry - let me take the case of the child who comes into the U.K. as a non-English speaker and goes along to join the school system. In the U.K. one of four things could happen to him. He could go to a full-time language school, or he could go to a part-time language school. Alternatively he could go to a full-time class in a normal school or a part -time withdrawal class, (very similar to the Victorian pattern) again in a normal school. I am never quite clear why the idea of the full-time language school ever took root because the one thing that it certainly ensures is bilingualism. Enrol two hundred Urdu-speaking Pakistanis in one school, for anything from three to six terms - and the one thing you ensure is the continuation of Urdu. English becomes the language only of the classroom and outside the pupils revert to their mother tongue. But more important than this, I think, in relation to the whole of this topic, one has to consider what

the purposes of education are. It might appear later on in the next half hour that I see the main purpose of education as passing examinations. Not so, but it is highly relevant to this consideration. An important consideration is surely social communication and if one separates all the Urdu-speaking Pakistanis of an area into one school, one effectively makes certain that there is no communication between the two cultures. The half-time language school, I think, offers a better solution to this problem where children spend half the time at least in contact with the indigenous population. But what happens at the end of this time in the full-time or part-time language school, or in the full-time language class? When does the child move out into normal schooling? I am happy to see so many people from the Australian Council for Educational Research here because I know that they are working on this problem of deciding when in fact a child has reached that level of linguistic competence in English to be able to take a full part in the normal activities of an Australian school. What has happened in the past in the U.K. is that the child has been moved on at some mythical point which is defined by teachers as 'when he can hold his own'. I have known the situation in England where the selection of

children who went to the special language centre was determined entirely by the head teachers of the schools. The heads of language centres said to me "What can you do about this - we're sending children out to this man's school as ready for normal schooling at a lower standard than those he is sending to us as being in need of special English " And there is no way - no effective way - at the present time of assessing a standard - a level of English competence - such that one can say, this child can take a normal part in the every day school. This is difficult, very difficult indeed, for the child who has learnt English to a level of social competence, and social competence only in the special style of language between children and the teacher of English.

I am reminded of the headmistress of the school with a lot of Indian children in it - an infant school - who said to me one day that she had had a most interesting experience. The school was in Leicester which has a distinct accent throughout its schools. A five-year-old Indian child said to the Headmistress in the morning, "Please, Miss, I have changed my best friend"; and those of you who work in the infant field of education will know how important this is. So the Headmistress stopped and said, "Have you Inder, why is that?" "Please Miss, she doesn't speak English"; which surprised the Headmistress a

little bit, because Inder's friend was English. So she said, "Cannot you understand her, Inder?" "Oh yes, Miss, I understand her very well in the classroom, but outside school she speaks a different language." She did - she spoke "Leicester". Now one of the problems here is that we send children out from initial language teaching into the normal school in command of a rather specialized style of language - that appropriate to the teacher/pupil relationship, which very often is akin to the essay on 'Bon-Fire Night', or 'How I Spent My Holidays', because we have to find them something to talk about, or to write about, or whatever. (Perhaps if you have seen some of the children's newsbooks as I have and have seen what they do tell you about their home circumstances- perhaps Bon-Fire Night is much safer) But when they start work on the language as a subject, they are lost. The child who comes out of the normal language class with the accent on English and moves into the science laboratory and is faced with test tube, burette, titration, sodium chloride, etc. may well think he is operating once again in a foreign language. The geography room - and here he feels he ought to know a little bit about it - after all he has lived in two separate parts of the world - has to do with anticlines, synclines, isotherms or medial moraines, and all these various terms - again, we have yet another foreign language.

One of the major criticisms I have about the educational implications of language deprivation is that it would appear that the very people - and I hasten to say in the U.K. - responsible for the English training of migrants do not realize the size of the job that they are tackling and they stop too soon. I can also say having read some of the Australian literature, that there are many in Australia who would apply the same criticism here. It is not a job which can stop in the language centre or the language school. It is a job which must continue certainly through primary and into secondary education. For the late-coming migrant it is highly important indeed for the teacher of physics, chemistry, geography and history to be also a teacher of English or the child would be far better operating in his native tongue.

Let us take the other process which happens to migrants and to everybody also going into our schools. They are assessed. We have no processes of assessment at all which are capable of assessing equally effectively a migrant and a member of the indigenous population in any language whatsoever; but we still keep using the existing tests and we still keep making our mistakes. It is a regrettable fact about the migrant scene in the United Kingdom that the one examination

which the West Indian children pass with consumate ease is the one which admits them to the schools for educationally sub-normal children. But in spite of this nonsense, those results are acted upon and it is true to say, because of this sort of nonsense, that the West Indian population of English schools is the only group in the educational system which has more children in schools for the educationall sub-normal than it has in the Grammar schools. But we still take notice of these totally invalid tests. There are those who say, "Well let us give them non-verbal tests; this would be all right." It isn't. There are two possible reasons for this. The one is the language, and Marta Rado picked on this and so am I going to do. It is extremely difficult for the expert to follow - the language of thought. The language in which the child works out mentally his non-verbal test has certainly an effect on the result. Let us take ourselves doing a jigsaw puzzle. Do we, in fact, fix a picture in our mind of a particular piece we're looking for, or do you, like me, say 'a little bit of blue sky with a straight edge'. Now whether you say this in Greek or French or Italian or English or Arabic - if it is in relation to a puzzle which has been set to you in English - can be quite important.

Let me give you another very simple example of the importance of language on assessment. I was in the Caribbean in '71 and I was looking at the 11+ examination for Jamaican schools and I came across a couple of questions which might interest you. The one said,"What is the odd one out of these five - Bicycle, Motorcar, Aeroplane, Diesel, Gasoline?" Well, you have all got the answer haven't you? I won't embarrass you by asking you to tell me because you probably have got five different answers. You have to know first of all that the diesel is the name of the railway engines in Jamaica because they are powered by Rolls Royce diesel engines; and you don't catch the train, you take the diesel. So the question is perfectly obvious ard gasoline is the only fuel. Another one, also in similar vein. "Which is the odd one out of these five - lemon, orange, grapefruit, mango, ugli". Very easy - but 'ugli' is spelt u-g-l-i-; and it happens to be a cross between a grapefruit and an orange. The dock sides at Kingston, Jamaica, are stacked up with boxes of these things and on the side it says 'I may be ugli - but I'm very sweet.' And the right answer is 'mango' as the only non-citrus fruit. Now here we have two questions in an English examination which could have been set to English children in the U.K. and they would be two questions down immediately because they would not have understood either of them.

Incidentally I told this story on Barbados radio and the interviewer stopped me and said, "I'm sorry I have not understood either of those two stories. What is an ugli?" And I discovered that even in the Caribbean, Barbados has neither railway engines nor uglis, so that one couldn't even assume that here we had an 11+ test which would have done for two children from two separate islands of the Caribbean. It certainly wouldn't have done for Jamaica and England. I wonder how much nonsense it would have made to a Greek or to an Italian, or how many other of the questions would have made similar nonsense.

Our processes of evaluation and assessment are quite invalid in these present circumstances. The only one in which one really ought to place any credence at all is that of the teacher's continuous assessment, and this needs a great deal more skill and judgement than is often imparted in initial training. But we act on our tests - we put children in the class which appears right. There is a great deal of evidence that children are very obliging creatures and if you label them 'D' or 'C' they will oblige by producing 'D' or 'C' work for you. And it is a very very short distance indeed from evaluating children on invalid tests to forming a very strong stereotype that migrant children are generally incapable. And this is a very dangerous step to

take. It has certainly been taken in the United Kingdom with regard to some of the groups of children there and it is a danger to be avoided.

Let us move on now and see what happens to children who have been streamed and divided, or not streamed and not divided. They carry on into the normal classes in a specialist timetable. In the special language school they were spoken to by one or two teachers. If they were very lucky they had a variety of speakers on tape. But they may have had a very limited number of teachers. How many teachers speak to the average child in secondary education in this country in the course of a week? Very little work indeed has been done so far on the extent of comprehension of the oral word of children who have been passed out of the language centres "able to hold their own". But there is quite a bit of superficial evidence that children do not understand nearly as much as they appear to do. Again it is very polite and very obliging to say "Yes" to the teacher. It is sometimes very disruptive to say "I don't understand". And if you say "I don't understand" in a foreign accent it can also be embarrassing. But certainly this question of comprehension of the oral word for children who have been through the language

centre is highly important. How aware are a number of our subject teachers of these particular needs?

Let me go on now to point out the actual results of this as I know them in the English setting, because they are highly illuminating. We had a system at this time where the leaving age was 15, but children could remain on at school voluntarily to 16 - 17 - 18. The pupils in our schools in England include a quarter of a million migrants - about half of these from the Caribbean, almost a half again, Asian, a smallish proportion of European migrants of a very similar mix to those in Australia - Southern Italian, Cypriot Turkish, Cypriot Greek and so on, and a number of Northern Europeans, Australians, New Zealanders, and what we, in fact, term generally as the old Commonwealth. I suppose for the new Commonwealth they would be from the Caribbean, Punjab, the Gujarat and Bengal. The percentage of children in the multi-racial schools I was looking at, who stayed on from the 4th form - that is fifteen year olds who stayed on to sixteen - was in quite an interesting order. 70% of West Indians stayed on, and the order went - West Indian, Indian, Pakistani, East African, Asian, European, English. These were down-town city schools. Over the country as a whole about 66% of children stayed on into the extra years.

In these inner city schools in migrant areas, 70% of West Indian, going down through about 60% Indian and Pakistani, dropping down to 50% European and only 30% of English children stayed on. I asked head-teachers why this was so. I remember one cynical answer I got. The head teacher of a secondary modern school in an industrial city in the north of England said, "Oh, you won't get the English kids staying on here - they know that education has nothing to offer them." But, he said, "You get a lot of West Indians staying on because they realise that it is their only hope."

But what happened when it came to the external examination itself ? The examination results were switched totally. In fact the very level at which the children were working was also switched utterly. So English pupils scored most highly in the examinations and the West Indians at the other end scored the least highly. And it was in the same order. Funnily enough, you know, in our situation, the Italians, or some of the Italians and some of the Greek and Turkish Cypriots scored considerably higher than the West Indians. Since language was very much a factor in this examination success somebody might feel inclined to ask why is it that the two naturally speaking English groups - the English and the West Indians - were at the two opposite ends of the success scale.

This is perhaps because of the assumption that the West Indians speak English and therefore need no special language classes and this is the fallacy that has bedevilled the West Indian in the U.K. for that last twenty years, because it has not been realized that he speaks a totally different form of English which is akin to a separate language - Creole.
In the early days teachers used to say to the West Indians "No, that's wrong", or "No, that's bad English". The exact way, of course, to set people - proud of their own culture, proud of their own island, proud of their own language - completely against any change and this is, in fact, what happened. The West Indian child in the English school has had virtually no attention to his particular linguistic needs until about the last two or three years and he scores worst of all as far as external success in secondary education is measured.

I have a next door neighbour - a child of three - who is half Egyptian and half English. Her mother speaks French to her all the time. Her father speaks English to her all the time because his French will not stand comparison with that of his wife. (He was taught it in an English Grammar School which explains that, of course.) The child is totally bilingual.

I know her very well. Now and again I say, "Bonjour Gigi - comment ça va?" "I am very well, thank you, Mr. Townsend." I have never yet caught her out. Once I telephoned. Gigi answered the phone. I said "Hullo Gigi, do you know who this is?" "No." "Bonjour Gigi, comment ça va?" "I am very well thank you." So I decided that there was some sort of mechanism that switched her over from one channel to the other. I went into a school in East Oakleigh a couple of weeks ago and the teacher said, "Oh Michael is an Egyptian"; and having lived in Egypt for about five years and still having vague memories of my Arabic, I went over to Michael and I said in Arabic "Hello, Michael, how are you?"

Now he was the most talkative lad in the room and if there is anyone here from East Oakleigh they will vouch for this, and he looked at me most uncertainly, with that sort of half smile of embarrassment to an adult who is obviously round the bend, and he backed away to the other end of the room and busied himself in the sand tray. When I went around a little bit later on and spoke to him in English we had quite an interesting conversation. But when I asked the teacher, "What language does he normally speak at home", she said, "Totally Arabic".

Now again, here is another interesting mechanism. I can guarantee that my "Hello, Michael, how are you?" was perfectly understandable to any speaker of Arabic, but it was not answerable in Michael's particular syndrome. In Alexandria, about thirty years ago, I knew a boy of 2 who spoke to me in English, his parents in French, his maternal grandparents in German, his paternal grandparents in Italian and the housemaid in Arabic - and I never remember him getting anything wrong and speaking to me in an odd mixture of any of those languages. What the mechanism was I cannot even guess at. But the mechanism certainly exists which enables people to switch over from one channel to another. That particular child was a very advanced model with five channels. Because we have so little indication, so little understanding, of the process - again - we have very little understanding indeed of what it means to be a child who switches out of one language and culture, totally, at four o'clock in the afternoon and switches back in again at nine o'clock the following morning.

So here is yet another difficulty - another educational implication of language deprivation - which we don't even dimly comprehend. In the United Kingdom summer schools have blossomed over the last five years because of the setback that migrant children receive during the six or seven weeks summer holiday. They come back into school not having spoken a single word of English for

seven weeks. I was quite astonished to find one family with six children in school, all learning English, and I found these people at a summer school. When talking to them I discovered that since school finished they had not spoken English even amongst themselves because they thought it was impolite to their parents to do so, since mother didn't understand any English. Again this switching in and switching out from one culture to another.

Let me sum up. The first item I mentioned was the question of assessment and putting people in the wrong streams and under-valuing. This, I suggest, is not a matter at all for bilingualism, because there is no means of comparative standardization of an IQ test in Greek, another one in Italian, another one in Turkish, another one in Arabic. Thank goodness there isn't. This, I think, is a case for far better means of assessment and evaluation. I mentioned the fact that children come out of the initial language work at too early a stage, and that it is not continued as it ought to be, particularly in the realms of secondary education. This, I think, is a case for better teaching of English as a second language, but I think in the interim it is a very strong case indeed for bilingualism.

The child who comes late into this country, say, at the age of thirteen, an able child, possibly of university potential, who is made to operate in the Higher School Certificate in a foreign language, is not going to be able to reach her or his full potential unless a very exceptional child indeed. I think there is a very strong case here for bilingualism merely to do justice to able children coming in to this system. After all, is the Higher School Certificate Examination in Mathematics meant to test mathematical ability or English ability? Because at the moment, for a migrant it measures English ability in addition to mathematical. I don't see bilingualism myself as a long term solution to this problem because children going on to university and into employment will have to operate in the language of the country.

But there is a further and more important aspect, and I really mean more important aspect, which I have not touched upon at all because I hope that this is going to be the theme of Alan Matheson's address tomorrow and that is the whole societal aim of education and the sort of society to which Australia is aiming. I think it would be rather sad if that society, made up of such a mixture of races, were to be one in which English became the only language.

LANGUAGE CONTACT AND LANGUAGE ECOLOGY IN AUSTRALIA

Michael Clyne

Nearly one in three of the Australian population is a migrant, or a child of a migrant. The majority of these come from non-English-speaking countries so language contact is a rather large issue in Australia. If we are interested in an assimilation program which has elements of pluralism, if we are interested in bilingual education, if we are interested in using the generation of migrants that is going through the schools now, as the basis for a bilingual, bi-cultural group that can help assimilate later generations of migrants, then we must find out something about the existing resources, the existing language resources in our community. We don't know very much about these,our censuses do not include language questions.

The 1971 census tells us something about the birthplace of migrants. There were then in Australia, about 290,000 Italians who were born in Italy; about 160,000 people born in Greece; about 134,000 born in Germany and Austria; about 130,000 born in Yugoslavia; about 100,000 born in the Netherlands. Since 1971 the Yugoslav population has increased considerably: Italians and Greeks have given birth to large numbers of second generation children.

Of course, the birthplace figures do not tell us terribly much because they do not tell us anything about the second generation who, in the main, are bilinguals in Marta Rado's sense. Also we should not equate language and birthplace. For instance, a very large number of German native speakers were born in German-speaking parts of other Central European countries and Eastern European countries. Of the Yugoslav born population we don't know how many are native speakers of Serbo-Croatian and how many are native speakers of Macedonian, Slovenian,Hungarian, Albanian, and so on. This problem can only be overcome if we have a language question, or a number of language questions, in the census. I hope this will happen in 1976.

We are dealing with a melting pot situation and not a closed settlement situation. Of course, there are different tendencies in population movements within our large cities in Australia. The vast majority of migrants, like the vast majority of the Australian population, live in large capital cities and there are different population movement tendencies, although there is no clearcut division between them. One tendency is that people settle in a first area of settlement in inner suburban areas of Melbourne and Sydney, and then they disperse to the outer suburbs. We find this a lot with Italian born migrants. Another tendency is immediate dispersion. Another is the extension of the first area of

settlement, a tendency which occurs among Greek migrants. They start off, say, in Richmond and then spread. Then the Greek settlement in Richmond spreads into Prahran, then into Malvern and Caulfield, and Oakleigh and so on. And there is the other possibility that you have a new continuous strip of settlement, on the edge of the metropolitan area, which is the case among Dutch migrants. They have settled mainly in the area on the eastern and southern outer extremities of the metropolitan area from Eltham via the Dandenongs, Dandenong, Cranbourne, Flinders and back to Frankston. Population movements have quite a lot to do with whether migrants keep up the language and what they use the language for.

Language contact begins at the latest the minute the migrant reaches Australia. English is, in most cases, the language of the job. It is the language of the school, of public authorities, mass media and, to some degree, also of social life. There are bound to be new concepts which are experienced every day in Australia, and these concepts are associated with the English language - names of new jobs; trees and animals that did not exist in the homeland; a different way of life, which may include a car or a television set for the first time; new institutions; school institutions; new school subjects; new games played with friends or at school; different types of shops - and this is one of the causes of interference

in language and perhaps the main type of interference. The first type of interference to be experienced from the new language into the first language, is in vocabulary, lexical interference. Lexical interference usually spreads from the second language to the first language, not so much the other way around. Not very long after the migrant family has entered Australia, they are unable to express certain concepts in their first language. There is some syntactic interference, that is interference in sentence patterns and sentence constructions, from the first language to the second language and there is some from the second language to the first language. Phonological transference, transference in the sound system, is the last influence of English on the first language. In fact it usually takes at least a generation, sometimes more than that. You may, of course, find a lot of phonological interference from the first language in English. Between the ages of 8 and 12 most people lose the capacity to learn a foreign language without an accent, that is, most children who come to Australia at the age of thirteen will retain a "foreign accent"in their English. A child who comes at the age of fourteen will almost certainly retain an accent, there are very rare exceptions to this. It doesn't matter how much extra tuition they get, it doesn't matter how much they are told they mustn't speak with a foreign accent.

Now suppose the migrant starts using English words in his first language. Very often he makes them sound as though they were part of the first language. He integrates them into the phonological system, the grammatical system and the spelling system of the first language. If this first language has genders, then he gives the English word a gender. If the language has special plural endings or case endings, he gives the transferred word plural endings and case endings. If in this particular language you have to do something to a verb to make it past tense, he adds all sorts of things to it to make it past tense. In fact, if you ask a German migrant what he did last night, he will probably tell you, "Ich habe television gewatcht". You will probably get the same thing in most other languages too, in fact, Rando (1968) has shown that in the village of Filacudi in Sicily, words such as 'billicano' and 'frusciopi' have spread from Australia through people going back after some years in Australia, and particularly through correspondence with relatives in Australia. Lexical interference, that is, the use of English words in your first language, is a very common practice and it has two main explanations.

1. You are talking about concepts that you have experienced in Australia, or that you have experienced very much more in

Australia than in your country of origin, particularly in the last few years.

2. Economy, some constructions are much easier in one language than another, and if you use an English word you can sometimes get over the syntactic complexities of another language.

But sometimes people do not just use the English word, they use the word in the first language and they give it the meaning of a corresponding English word. Even compromise forms originate in their speech, compromises between English and the first language, so half the word is in one language and half of the word is in another language. Then sometimes constructions are transferred from English. This can be traced in the first generation and particularly in the second generation. In fact, a lot of constructions may be more economical in English and they are transferred to the first language. For instance, in migrant German, there is a tendency to bring separated parts of the verb closer together. In Australian Dutch, there is a tendency to adopt the word order subject-verb-object where it is ungrammatical in Dutch. Where the child is illiterate in the first language and has learnt to spell only in the second language (English) it will transfer many of the inconsistencies of English spelling to the first language. And some letters that don't exist in English are just dropped from the first

language, certain sequences that don't exist in English are dropped.

One of the important things about communication is getting the message across, and this is often done in a different way in different languages. For instance, in many European languages, if someone asks you whether you want a cup of tea and if you say 'Thank you', that doesn't mean you want it, it means you don't want it. Many communication problems arise from this sort of formula which is different in different languages.

People will sometimes switch from one language to the other in the middle of a conversation, or in the middle of a sentence. There are two main reasons for this. One of these is there can be summed up in the words, "Who speaks what language to whom and when and to what end?", and it involves the domain, which Marta Rado spoke about, that is, the set of social situations. Some people associate one language, say, the migrant language, with home and English with school or with work, or they associate a particular dialect of the migrant language with home; they associate the standard language with church, the standard English with school, and a broad or general Australian English with the neighbourhood.

Another question is location. Some people will not speak the migrant language as soon as they open their door and go into the garden because someone else might hear them. Others are quite happy to speak the first language in the garden but as soon as they open their front gate and walk down the street, they switch to English. Another important factor, which Bert Townsend mentioned, was interlocutor, that is, whom are you talking to. Some people place very rigid constraints on whom they will talk to in a certain language. Then there is the question of interaction type, which type of interaction is taking place: are you telling jokes; are you giving a speech; are you writing a business letter or keeping a diary, or writing a letter to a friend. Now there is very little difference between a normal conversation and a letter to a friend, there is a lot of difference between writing a letter to a friend and giving a lecture, or writing a book. Then, there is role relationship. What relationship do you have with this particular person at this particular moment? That is one set of causes of code switching from one language to another.

Another cause is what may be termed 'triggering'. There are certain words which are transferred from one language to the other. There are other words which you will use in both languages, names for instance. There are words that are very

similar or identical in two languages. These words form an overlapping area between the two languages and when people come to a word like this, they sometimes forget what language they are in and they switch over.

Interference is very common among many migrants of practically all language backgrounds, and the type of language spoken at home is very often not the language that would be understood by a monolingual speaker of this particular language. It may be quite incomprehensible to a monolingual because it is full of English interference, lexical, syntactic, sometimes even phonological. Also, a child who comes to Australia at the age of five very often does not develop past the age of five in that language. What can you do with a language when, say, you are about 25, or 18 or 15 years old, and you speak the Italian or Hungarian or Ukranian or Greek or Serbo-Croatian or German of a 5 year old?

What causes people to shift from one language to another and what causes them to maintain the language? Here again we must consider the different functions that the language may have. We should also consider the fact that bilinguals use their languages for different purposes and they also have different skills in the various languages. We can

distinguish between receiving and sending bilinguals, that is, those who can understand the spoken language, and those who speak and write the language as well. We can distinguish between oral and visual bilinguals, those who can communicate in and understand the spoken language and those who can read and write the language. Someone who is illiterate in the language obviously can't use it for all functions. Then there is the question that sociolinguists call 'diglossia'. Languages have different functions, and one of the reasons why there are so few people who are absolutely equilingual is that very few people have the opportunity of using each language for exactly the same function, particularly over the same period. This may occur in some multilingual countries, even there it is very rare.

Now the migrant in Australia will obviously have to use English, for certain functions. He may use the first language for certain functions and he may derive benefits from using the first language for certain functions. One of the main factors in whether people maintain a language or not is the status of the language, the educational value of the language. If a language is an important language educationally, particularly within the Australian education system, if they know you can pass examinations in the language, then this may be some incentive to keep up the language. Also, migrants

who lived in a country, or a part of the world, where there are many multilinguals, where there has been pressure to maintain a language - their native language - are more likely to maintain it than those who come from purely monolingual countries. But then there are a great many other factors which may be described as ambivalent, that is, they can lead to language shift or they can lead to language maintenance. For instance, the educational level of the migrant. If a migrant is very educated he may have a particular gift for learning languages, he may learn English very quickly and not require his other language. On the other hand, a migrant with a high level of education may be very interested in maintaining his first language because he is very well trained in the language, he has a very good cultural background in the language. A person with a low educational background may not be so concerned about keeping up the language because he doesn't know very much about the cultural background, the cultural tradition. On the other hand, he may not be terribly interested in mixing with speakers of Australian English, so it works both ways.

Another ambivalent factor is numbers. If there are large numbers of migrants of a particular language background, it is easier to conduct language maintenance efforts. On the other hand, if there are large numbers of migrants they are

going to have multiple contacts with English speakers, so it might be more difficult to maintain the language. If a language is very similar to English it may be easy for the native speakers to learn English and they may drop their first language very quickly. On the other hand, if the language is very similar to English it won't take them very long to learn English and they can maintain their first language as well.

If there is a very permissive attitude towards language maintenance, towards foreign languages, there may be a sort of 'lulling' effect and people won't bother to maintain their language. On the other hand, if there is no supression of other languages, they may use the language more often. The number of children in the family may be instrumental in language maintenance or in language shift. If a family has only one child the one child may go and play with children in other families and most likely they will speak English together. The parents will have no control over what is spoken outside the home, so the child may change over to English very quickly. On the other hand, if the family has several children, they may play at home and use English. In many migrant families, among most migrant groups, the children speak English among themselves even if they speak the first language to their parents.

Another ambivalent factor is knowledge of English on arrival. If the migrant doesn't need to learn English because he already knows some English, he can expend more energy on maintaining his first language. On the other hand, if the migrant already knows some English on arrival, he may not need to keep up his first language. The political situation in the homeland may be very important in the question of language maintenance and language shift. If the migrant is trying to escape from a particular regime in his homeland, he may assimilate very quickly and drop his first language which he regards as a political symbol of this oppressive regime. On the other hand, he may regard language as a political symbol of a cultural heritage. He may feel that the regime in his homeland shouldn't be trusted in language and cultural maintenance, and the only place to maintain culture and language maintenance is in exile.

Religious groupings may have something to do with this too. A closely-knit religious denomination, may maintain a language more easily than other groups. They may have very close social contact and use the first language all the time. On the other hand, if the closely-knit religious community changes over to English as a whole, then there is less chance that the first language will be maintained because the religious domain is taken over by English as are some of the

social concepts connected with this. Certainly religion and politics are very important factors in language maintenance as we can see for religion among the Greek and Ukranian and Russian communities in Melbourne, and for politics among the Ukranians, Croats, Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians and also to some extent the Poles and Hungarians. Among German and Austrian refugees before the second world war there was an ambivalent attitude and some maintained German particularly because of the Nazi regime, others dropped it altogether for the same reason.

The children in most families have a strong desire to conform and the age where this strong desire to conform becomes most obvious is between about 12 and 14. In some families English takes over the role of the language of communication between parents and children. This is particularly so among Dutch migrants. Among German migrants, the more common situation - and this is so among many Central European groups, and among the Italians too - the parents speak the first language and the children answer in English. A number of studies have shown that the Polish migrant parents tend to speak Polish at home and that the majority of their children prefer to speak English at home but are very often forced to speak the first language.

A very important language maintenance factor is grandparents. They tend to promote the use of the first language, particularly if they are living in the same home as the grandchildren. On the other hand, in some families the first language becomes a sort of secret language, one in which the parents and the grandparents communicate or which the parents use amongst themselves. This is a rather unfortunate situation. Of course, in some families English becomes a sort of secret language among the children. Among German migrants perhaps the most important factor in language maintenance is education, the fact that it is a school subject. Among the Dutch it seems to be grandparents.

Where we have the communication pattern with the parents speaking one language and the children answering in another, there is evidence of an excessive generation gap. The parents are often not able to communicate precisely with the children. The children lose respect for the parents because they don't see very much value in the first language and the parents very often lose parental control, which is especially important in some migrant groups.

A prize fallacy is that children of migrants learn better English if they forget their first language, or they

learn better English if their family speaks nothing but English at home. Often the effect is that the English deteriorates because the parents cannot offer the children the sort of English that they need. They might be much better off giving them help in the first language. Bilingualism is a fact of life in Australia. You can't take the bilingual situation away from the migrant family, it just exists. A family that comes from a non-English-speaking country speaks another language and the important thing, I think, is developing this bilingualism and not trying to chop off half of the bilingualism because it is not going to benefit the other half. One can distinguish, like the American linguist Einar Haugen (1953),between generation 1A and generation 1B. Generation 1A are children who come to the country of migration with fairly fixed speech habits, and that is usually after the age of about 12 years, and with most concepts developed in the first language. These children are the ones who are going to be in strife if they aren't given some help in the first language. They will also be in strife if they are encouraged to drop their first language because they have developed so far in it, it is too late to go back and develop in another language altogether. Generation 1B that is, those who come before the age of about 12, that is, while their main concepts are still being formed in terms of the first language, those whose speech habits have not become

fixed, who may be indistinguishable from other Australians, these children should also have the opportunity to develop bilingually. They could become equilingual if one did a little more for them.

Let us see what language ecology efforts exist in Australia. Some of the most important ones are the ethnic schools (weekday afternoon, Saturday or Sunday schools). Most communities run such schools, for instance, there are 50 Greek schools giving tuition to about 10,000 pupils in the metropolitan area of Melbourne. There are 10 German schools functioning on Saturday mornings. There are Italian, Hungarian, Polish, Ukranian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Estonian, etc. schools. There are certainly different motives involved. Among Germans and Italians it is mainly educational and cultural. Some of the Greek schools also teach religion. In some of the Ukranian, Latvian, Lithuanian schools there is a politico-cultural motivation. Whatever the motivation is behind the running of the schools, there seems to be a lack of motivation on the part of the pupils to attend them. In some of these ethnic schools, particularly the German ones, children come with such a limited knowledge of the first language that some of the classes have to be held in English and they virtually become a sort of foreign language class. Discipline is quite a problem, and this is

partly related to the fact that many of the teachers are not well qualified, and there is no training scheme for them. Some of them are, of course, very highly qualified.

The lack of motivation is probably related to the fact that the Australian community doesn't recognise the value of learning another language, being a native speaker of two languages, of taking part of your education in another language. These children are regarded as something different because they are attending ethnic schools and they might say, 'Why should I be regarded as a foreigner? I'm Australian'. They are not only different because they are attending ethnic schools, they are different because they are not doing what other people are doing at this particular time, e.g. playing football, or tennis or cricket on a Saturday morning. I think part of the problem could be overcome if responsibility for bilingualism could be taken over by the State education system, if we could drop the element of "foreignness" in keeping up the second language. There is nothing un-Australian about speaking two languages. It can be a very great asset to Australia to have people who speak more than one language, and it is important for people to understand other cultures. Now, I don't think this should be restricted to children who happen to be born into a bilingual family. There is no reason why, if this responsibility

could be transferred to the State system, children of monolingual Australian parents shouldn't also benefit from the fact that there are large numbers of bilinguals in this country. Certainly, they can practise their other languages with native speakers of the language. The myth about not being able to learn languages in Australia because Australia is so far from Europe, or whatever the continent may be, doesn't apply any more. There is hardly a language which is not spoken by a reasonably large group in Australia, and certainly the best time to start this is not the secondary school but the primary school. It is high time that more was done in this direction and we certainly need training programmes for teachers in this field.

The second language ecology organization I will discuss is the religious denomination. Some religious denominations are in transition as far as language is concerned. They regard language as being incidental, others regard it as the essential vehicle of the religion, and you have a religious domain which is dominated by one language. All the other domains may shift to English. Of course, then there is a danger that the religious domain may be separated from other domains of life. There are three models of ethnic religious organizations, and again they are not very clear-cut.

(1) The Language 1 congregation merges with a wider church, for instance, Dutch Presbyterians, German Lutherans, Croatian and Italian Roman Catholics.

(2) The whole church changes over to English, as among the members of the Dutch Reformed Church.

(3) The whole church remains in the Language 1 setting, e.g. Greek Orthodox, Ukranian Catholic.

There are also some that could be absorbed into a wider English-speaking Church, but prefer not to be e.g. Macedonian Methodists, Latvian Lutherans and German Baptists.

A third language ecology institution would be radio, television and films. You probably know that up to four months ago we had a law in this country which said that no radio stations may broadcast in foreign languages, languages other than English, for more than 2 1/2 per cent of their total broadcasting time. (There was an amendment to the law which said that 3XY Melbourne could broadcast for less than 5 per cent and 2CH Sydney could broadcast for less than 10 per cent. At that stage a number of Melbourne broadcasting stations, particularly 3XY, did broadcast foreign language transmissions. The 2 1/2 per cent, 5 per cent and 10 per cent included compulsory English translations of all foreign language messages.) The law applied for decades at a time when it would have been far more responsible, far more intelligent, far fairer to say that all broadcasting stations should be

forced to broadcast at least 2 1/2 per cent in languages other than English. Certainly it doesn't help people if they have a radio and they cannot understand what it is saying, and if it is true that frustrated housewives listen to the radio, what about the poor Italian or Greek housewife who gets a bit frustrated. Fortunately, in December 1973 the ban on more than 2 1/2 per cent broadcasting time in foreign languages was lifted.

Now, in 1969 most of the stations changed to either continuous talk-back, continuous pops or continuous beautiful music, which didn't help the foreign language cause, and now that the restriction on foreign language broadcasts has been changed, none of the Melbourne commercial broadcasting stations want to broadcast in other languages so, unless you happen to pick up 3GL on Sunday evenings or 3UL or 3CS on Tuesday evenings, you won't hear very many foreign language broadcasts in Melbourne. One may hope with the coming of FM radio there may be a change. Certainly radio stations should have a responsibility to broadcast in other languages and perhaps to broadcast not only music but cultural broadcasts on other cultures represented in Australia.

Films are reasonably well catered for, I think. There are a number of picture theatres in inner suburbs that present pictures in migrant languages. But I hardly think there could

be a more Anglo-Saxon biased institution in this country as television I can't imagine why we have to watch ten American westerns every evening when we could perhaps see some really good Italian or Yugoslav or German or Greek films with sub-titles. I am certain that both monolinguals and bilinguals in Australia would benefit from such an innovation.

Public Library facilities for migrants are not very adequate. It is very important that adults and children should not lose an incentive to read what they may have gained in their first language. At least for the transition stage there is a need for books for children and adults in the first language. Only in this way can literacy and intellectual development of children and adults be promoted. I think we should look at education as a continuing process, not just in terms of teaching at primary and secondary level for children. After all, some adults do like reading and they may want to find out something; something new like space travel or a new way of repairing leaks in roofs, or some new development in international relations. Many migrants can't cope with this sort of thing in English and, if there isn't something in the native language in the Municipal Library, they are just not going to benefit from it at all. A study made in New South Wales recently showed that in the whole State of New South Wales there were 120 books in Serbo-Croatian in all the

Municipal Libraries in New South Wales. There were 300 in Greek, and 1,900 in Italian. I think we are a little better off in Victoria but not very much. And I think this is something that should be looked at very carefully. I won't go into details for newspapers and ethnic cultural societies but they play a very important part in language ecology.

There are, of course, numerous functions of language, the most important of which is communication. But language is also an instrument of action: through language we make promises; we reject offers and accept them; we insult people and we are insulted by what other people say; we warn people and threaten people and so on. Language is the most important means of cognitive development - this is what this conference is all about - but it is also a means of social identification. All these factors are very important in the school situation, not just communication, not just cognitive development. If you can't act in a language or if you identify yourself the minute you open your mouth as someone who is perhaps a bit second-rate, then you may not benefit from what the school is offering. English as a second language is a very useful activity for schools but, if it is separated from the rest of education, from the rest of the functions of language, then perhaps it is not quite as useful as it would otherwise be. And it certainly isn't quite as useful if it is concentrated

on the secondary level because problems of language begin at the primary level. At the primary level most of the child's conceptual development takes place, and we shouldn't forget the second generation children. The primary school teacher usually introduces the school domain through the home domain. If the second generation child does not have the English vocabulary for the home domain on which to build, there is a problem. Experience and research from other countries have shown that, where children can begin education in their first language, they overcome a lot of transitional problems. It has also been shown that where children learn to read in their first language before they do in their second language, they can learn to read very much faster in their second language.

Bilingual education is not just something for migrants, it is something for the whole of the Australian community. There is no reason why Australian children cannot benefit from it if they can start on it early enough in their education. It is not just something for "underprivileged" migrants, it is not only for the Turks in Brunswick, it is also for the Germans and the Russians and the Hungarians in Dandenong. It is not just for the Italians in Brunswick or Carlton, it is also for the Italians in Nunawading and Essendon, and they have just as much right to benefit from it as do the children in the inner suburbs. Certainly there is more of a problem there and this should be overcome first

but there is a wonderful opportunity of extending this.

We should remember that the language that the children speak is not always the standard variety. Not all Italians speak standard Italian. Not all Greeks speak Katherevousa, not all Germans come from Hanover, not all Dutch people come from Haarlem and so on. We may even have great problems in choosing a Yugoslav variety, as you all know. But the important thing is not to scare off children by telling them that their Italian is not real Italian, but to perhaps start with the Italian they do speak. This is what happens in Italy. Most Italians are in a 'diglossic' situation where they use this type of Italian for one function and that one for another, and the standard variety can be approached through the varieties spoken in Australia.

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THE SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF BEING A BILINGUAL

Alan Matheson

The intention of the conference as I understand it is to draw together expertise and experience in the field of bilingual education. According to the conference programme I am to speak about the social consequences of being a bilingual. While it is common nowadays for social workers to speak on behalf of the poor, town planners to speak on behalf of flat dwellers, teachers to speak on behalf of parents and politicians regularly speak on behalf of the silent majority, I hasten to add that I am reluctant to speak on behalf of bilinguals.

What I would like to do is to explore not only the social but also the political and economic implications of bilingualism.

Connell (1970) in commenting on education in Australia concluded that:

> "there is a myth widely disseminating throughout Australia that the aim of education is to enable each individual to develop his talents to the utmost and that the Australian schools provide the opportunity for everyone to progress up the educational ladder to the limits of his ability". 1.

Smolitcz (1971) believed that:

> "Despite lip service to the contrary, the Australian school continues to function as the assimilationist agency in the strictest Anglo conformist meaning of the word. It does not forbid the use of other languages but it achieves not so very different results by its attempt to treat all children in exactly the same way, as if they were all little Anglo Saxons". [2.]

The 1972 survey found that:

> "Only 20 per cent of migrant children in 63 schools in the inner suburban area of Melbourne were receiving adequate tuition". [3.]

and the "Herald" [4.] on Wednesday 1st May reported:

> "The special English classroom for migrant children at St. Margaret's Catholic Primary School in Maribyrnong is a bit cold these days. Shelter sheds are not the warmest of places but that is the only available space at the school for the 50 children who need special help in English".

After 25 years of immigration, 80 per cent - that is more than 12,000 migrant children in the inner suburban schools of Melbourne are not receiving sufficient tuition; 70 per cent of the accommodation adversely affects their learning, and 20 per cent of teachers supposedly teaching English had no specialist training.

In 1969 in New South Wales it was revealed that a quarter of reading, writing and comprehension difficulties had persisted among migrant children who had been in the school

system for more than 3 years. At the secondary level there was a somewhat similar proportion of reading and writing difficulties among children who had been in the school system for more than 5 years.

What a massive accomplishment, it took the effort of thousands of teachers, thousands of administrators, scholars, academics, social workers, psychologists, scores of teachers' colleges and universities to achieve! It cost, literally, millions of dollars to accomplish. But alone the professional educators could not have done it, they needed the active support of all the forces of teachers' unions, willing politicians and astute businessmen. Perhaps the greatest achievement, however, has been their ability to place the responsibility for this unique record of failure upon the children themselves and their families.

How could such a massive dismal failure take place in the 1970s in Australia. And, if such a failure can take place in the normal school situation, aren't we kidding ourselves that we can introduce creative and innovative bilingual/bicultural programs.

What I am suggesting, as we come together to look at bilingualism, is that there is a critical need to keep the issues of this conference in perspective. I am suggesting that conferences like this run the real danger of dissipating energies and diverting attention away from major issues. School systems as you will understand, or I hope you do, can destroy whole groups by the imposition of unity; a unity built around sets of values, inflexible institutions and unchanging traditional practices and power groups. Such a unity is imposed through the utilization of a variety of strategies and you will be well aware of them.

They range from the Muslim children at the local Technical School, who are punished if they fail to attend religious instruction, to the non-verbal gestures of too many teachers which communicate (Protestant) to Turks and Greeks "You are not wanted in the classroom". Such an imposition of unity, such an homogeneous approach to education, drains confidence, it forces powerlessness and ensures the continuance of exploitive relationships between people. I am suggesting that in our discussions we need to hold before us continually the questions, 'What are we trying to do?', "What are we on about?', "What will programs of bilingualism achieve?', 'Will it empower the powerless?', 'Will it bring about radical changes in our

schools?', 'Will it ensure dignity and pride for ethnic groups?', 'Will it ensure the rights of exploited, unskilled Turks, Greeks, Italians and Yugoslavs?' or 'Will it further weaken the ethnic groups in their struggle to attain equality of opportunity?' I say, weaken, because the education system has a delightful way of syphoning off the brightest. It tends to alienate the most capable, it tends to separate him from his ethnic group. They are absorbed into the ideal Australian middle-class world, where they rarely return to provide leadership to the ethnic group. I recall Marta Rado, last night, saying, that she was hopeful that the bilingual would come into the Australian setting, the institution, (whether it be a school or university) and tell us how it is; that he would speak on behalf of the ethnic group; that he would provide leadership for the ethnic group. I have some very real questions whether, in fact, that happens or whether the upwardly mobile potential leader turns his back on the struggles of his ethnic group in order to achieve acceptance in the Australian community.

Paternalism

While I accept the suggestion that when we use a term like bilingualism we usually mean more than language, I am a little

uncomfortable at some of the assumptions that are at the back of our concern. Is such a conference as this merely ensuring the continuance of the way 'we', the professional educators, speak about 'them', the migrants. Possibly we are seeking answers to the ways 'we' will help 'them', the migrants.

I suggest that it is possible to be paternalistic at two levels: first that 'we' will make, encourage, stimulate, program 'them' to be bilingual. It was very fascinating last night if you will recall - we sat here for 3 hours - and only in the last 3 minutes did one of the speakers happen to mention, that bilingualism may not, and probably was not, only for migrants. A classic example being propagated at the moment is the Immigration Department's Home Tutor Scheme where 10,000 women are to be recruited to help 'them' the 'migrants' learn English. It would have been a most creative attempt for the Department of Immigration if it had recruited 10,000 Australian women to learn Turkish, Yugoslav, Serbo-Croatian and Greek. That is a program whereby 'they' the Italian and the Turk just for a change, helped 'us' to understand a little more of their language and culture.

Except for isolated incidences in Melbourne there has been little discussion on bilingual pregrams for non-Greek (non-Turkish, Yugoslav, etc.) speaking children, that is, your child and my child. There is little suggestion and almost no programs to ensure that they have the opportunity to learn Greek or Italian. Discussions and programs largely centre around language maintenance and the teaching of English.

A second aspect of this paternalism is that bilingual programs as such, geared solely at teaching the mother tongue of the child, are introduced for ulterior motives, that is, so that an easier transition may take place to English. I am reminded of an Education Department statement that landed on our desk in the last few months which says, 'Bilingualism is to be introduced so that his knowledge of English may provide the immigrant with the opportunities of assimilation and for social mobility through education. In effect to utilize language to melt non-English speaking children into the main stream of society'. The question then is, 'What are we on about?' 'What are our motives?' Marta Rado, in one of her publications, says, "Is competence in the English language the whole answer. Will competence in English achieve the widely held ideal of complete acculturation or invisibility so that the newcomer, or rather his children, will become indistinguishable from the rest of Australian society.

Is it indeed a valid idea at all? Does multilingualism lead to communal fragmentation and tension, and is that bad any way"?[5.] We need to be sensitive to the unconscious and often unplanned paternalism of too many teachers in our education systems. In assessments of bilingual programs in the States it was found that "currently most bilingual education programs, quite contrary to the usual statements of program goals highly approximated assimilation. This means that the structure of typically existing programs in the area of these language maintenance efforts can be expected to foster accelerated demise of the ethnic mother tongue."[6.] Or at another level, let us be warned of the 'real danger of viewing bilingual education as merely a disease of the poor and disadvantaged'.[7.]

Illusion

Smolicz and Wiseman in their study in Adelaide raised real questions as to the viability of bilingual education programs in Australia, at least bilingual education programs as the academics would have us believe they must be implemented. They were suggesting that in fact the first language has to be re-taught as the second language. With Italian girls in Adelaide schools, they found that less than half could speak standard Italian and the rest used their parents' local dialect. The language they spoke became

a form of family language divorced from literary Italian and usually only used with parents or relatives. In a further sample of Italians over three-quarters of the students claimed to speak Italian but only less than two fifths could read and only one third write more than very little. They suggested that the situation was similar with Polish students, three-quarters claiming the ability to speak and one half to read, and one third to write Polish.

There is that evidence and the evidence found in surveys in Victoria and New South Wales schools which suggest that, in fact, what we are talking about when we are speaking of Mediterranean migrant children, are people who are functioning illiterately. However, be warned, don't be lead astray by the academic for, the way some of them speak, one would think that it is a rare thing for bilingualism to take place. It was encouraging to hear Michael Clyne say that it doesn't matter what we, as a conference of academics, talk about in terms of bilingualism, it's on and it's being practised. The question for each of us is, 'Where do we plug in?'

Allied to the dangers of being deluded, we are in very real dangers of deceiving ourselves as to what we are on about. After many years of lobbying, on January 2nd, 1968 President Lyndon B. Johnson signed into law the Bilingual Education Act with these words:

> "Thousands of children of Latin descent, young Indians and others will get a better start, a better chance in schools. What the law means is that we are now giving every child in America a better chance to touch his outermost limits, to reach the farthest edge of his talents and his dreams".

In the way the Act was administered it in fact was seen to be a significant anti-poverty measure of the Johnson administration and, as such, it failed. It failed because of the myth that education attainment will change the basic structure of society. Educational attainment does not necessarily enable the lower class person to overcome the disadvantages of his 'low social origin'. In fact, a bilingual program that fails to recognise the existence of class structure and the educational implications of that structure, is a distortion of reality and a deception. Bilingualism will not achieve equality of educational opportunity.

It is very interesting to look at the speakers at this conference, and at the people doing research in bilingualism, predominantly they are from Eastern and Central Europe, with virtually no Italians, Greeks, Turks or Yugoslavs. It seems effectively that they have been excluded.

An Equality of Educational Opportunity Report produced by Coleman[8] in 1966 made pessimistic reading for the American educators. He concluded that physical and economical resources going into a school had very little relation to the achievement coming out of it. Now, there has been some disagreement with that kind of report and, I guess, with such a generalization, but what he was suggesting was that a cargo cult approach to education contributed little if children came from a particular social environment.

I was handed a document, presumably produced by a senior member of the Education Department of Victoria, last week by the local headmaster and it was entitled 'Social Vulnerability: The Effect of Cultural Deprivation on the Education of Children'. The concept of the 'culturally deprived' is a common one and regularly applied to migrant children. So often when barriers to a migrant child's effective school performance are critically analysed, there emerges a rather familiar culprit; the family, the home, the unfortunate, the unfavourable or disadvantaged environment. The result of such analysis is that the school is made to appear blameless, doing a very difficult job in most adverse and unfavourable circumstances. The question for you and I is, 'Are disadvantaged pupils attending advantaged schools taught by culturally enriched teachers?' Or is it possible that some

culturally deprived teachers and schools, or is it that all are deprived - schools, teachers and pupils?

Bilingualism and Radical Change

Will bilingualism enable ethnic groups to confront the Australian born community with the realities of Australian society? I am not entirely a pessimist. There are political and social implications of bilingualism that can lead to radical change within the school system. Australians are not given often to reflection on the kind of society they are creating, and are encouraged by Barry Humphries, who on one of his visits to Australia said, "Melbourne is unique from the spiritual point of view. It is the only place on earth where the visitor can close his eyes and wonder if there really is life before death."

What is the reality of Australian society? Liberal Party statements being distributed at the present moment suggest that their immigration policy "is aimed at the preservation of a homogeneous society which serves the best intentions, or the best interests, of State and nation." Mr.McMahon once said that the Government - that is, his Government of some years' ago - was determined to maintain a predominantly homogeneous population. When the great debates were taking place in 1900 a leading labour

minister said, "The question is whether we would desire that our sisters or brothers marry into any of these races to which we object." Then there was a fascinating exchange of letters that took place in the Medical Journal of Australia about 1915 or 1916. The whole debate took place over the introduction of non-Europeans into Australia and one learned doctor wrote, "Since Europeans consider orgasm evil, and orientals consider it heaven, a breakdown of the white Australia policy would more than likely lead to prostitution." And you will be aware of the former leader of the Labour Party who once said, "No red blooded Australian wants to see a chocolate coloured Australia in the 1980s". And if you have been watching television in the last couple of nights you would have seen Helen Stop-Asian-Migration-Birrell saying, "I am not anti-Asian and I am not anti-European, I am just pro-Australian." If you happen to come from New South Wales you will have the delightful choice between 'Henry-White-Australia-Smith' and 'Bill-White-Australia-Brown' and 'Mary-White-Australia-Macdonald'. All have changed their names by deed poll for the coming senate election.

What kind of Australian society are we on about? I firmly believe that most of us are caught up and have deeply

imbedded within us what we call the 'Barassi syndrome'. That is, there is a deeply imbedded expectation within the Australian society that people coming into Australia will 'speak English quickly, visit the pub, and barrack for North Melbourne'. Grassby commenting on Australian society said, "Today, irrespective of what labels we use, the fact is that the increasing diversity of Australian society has gradually eroded and finally rendered untenable the prospects there might have been 20 years ago of fully assimilating newcomers to the Australian way of life".[9] You will recall that Grassby has a tendency to use delightful phrases, one of which is, 'the family of the nation' and he defines that as the overall attachment to the common good and, as such, should not impose a sameness on the outlook or activity of each member. I guess any statement by any politician has overtones of simplicity and paternalism. For example, what is the common good? What is the common good expressed by the Turkish process worker, the Greek female machinist, the executive of Waltons and the director of mining operations planning to tear up Aboriginal sacred lands? What is the common good between women who sit here - and women who slave in clothing factories scattered in the inner suburbs? What is the common good for you sitting in your finery, knowing that behind the making of the garments you wear is sweated Greek labour. The mark-up on your particular garment is anything from 100 to 600 per cent. What is the common good at that level?

Is the common good being served by a program of bilingualism? I believe it is.

The Greek Australian Review commenting on migrant education in the last issue or so said:

> "Tens of thousands of children of migrants have lost irreparably the opportunity to be educated according to their need and capacities just because Governments and the society in general have placed these children, along with their parents, in a category of the unskilled labourer, of the servant of the unjust exploitive society, a society dominated by its Anglo-Saxon origin".

It went on to say:

> "For 25 years the authorities have refused consciously or unconsciously to recognise our immense English language difficulties, young and old alike, and the need to retain our language and cultures not as a bad inheritance to disappear with the first generation of foreigners but as an indispensable means of expression and communication". 10.

They suggest that the refusal is not due to the lack of foresight on behalf of the authorities, rather it is based on the fact that an unskilled and culturally naked, deprived person becomes an easier prey for economic and ethnic exploitation. Our problems as migrants they said, the injustices we suffer, are the products of the class character of this society, and more specifically of the nature of the immigration policy. The understanding of this policy is the most essential element in the struggle for our rights. Australia's immigration policy was, and still is, based on the following:

* to supply the industrialist with cheap and plentiful labour.
* to expand the domestic market and add to the industrial muscle for expansion in neighbouring underdeveloped countries.
* to make the non-British migrant conform totally and as quickly as possible to the Anglo-Saxon culture.
* to exclude in any meaningful way Asians and other coloured people so that the supremacy of the white Anglo-Saxon race can be maintained.

Will bilingual programs enable ethnic groups to confront and to counter the deliberate strategies that have been set up to ensure the failure of their children?

I believe one of these strategies has been that we basically train teachers to fail. The self-fulfilling prophesy is an all too familiar characteristic of teachers involved with migrant children. The children do not learn because they are not taught effectively; they are not taught effectively because those charged with the responsibility of teaching them don't believe that they can learn. They don't expect that they can learn, and they don't act towards them in ways which help them to learn. I am reminded of Gaarder,[11.] who evaluated some of the bilingual education programs in America; he contended

that teachers just weren't prepared to handle bilingual students, that projects depended on the teaching services of aides, sometimes called 'para-professionals', bilingual individuals usually drawn from the community, individuals who were rarely required to be literate in the non-English tongue and who were paid disproportionately low wages.

Secondly, there is an implicit belief by teachers in the concept of culture deprivation. The Education Department document which I referred to defines such a child as lacking in motivation, lower educational expectation and retarded in most areas that count. I guess it is understandable that teachers can make that kind of statement. For example, the school around the corner from my home has some 20 staff members and not one of them lives in the area. I strongly believe that it is not possible to teach in the inner suburbs, the Western suburbs or the Northern suburbs of Melbourne unless you live in the area. To flit in and out gives no claim for authenticity or accountability or authority.

Is it any wonder we expect less from children who are different; such expectations have been well illustrated in the 'sneaky experiments' by Rosenhall, where he describes the 'spurters' and the 'non-spurters'. You might like to pick that up in a book

by Ryan called "Blaming the Victim".[12] The 'blaming the victim' syndrome, that is, the defect, the difference, the problem is located within the victim himself and never in the blatant discrimination of educational policies, the prejudices of directors and assistant directors, the chauvinism of politicians, or the exploitation of industry.

I believe that bilingual education programs can assist the Australian community to be confronted with the reality of what we are on about, the reality of our present society. If bilingual programs, however, remain linguistic exercises for the professional educator, the academic, the researcher, the public servant, then the ethnic group will remain oppressed or, as Jean Martin puts it, " ... to the extent that children of unskilled migrant parents suffer educational disabilities they are likely to perpetuate the low economic status of their families". Bilingual programs, teachers, linguists need to recognise the part they must play in raising, not only their own sensitivities and consciousness, but the awareness of migrants themselves.

Will bilingualism then enable ethnic groups to express demands for their rights?

Will bilingual programs in schools enable ethnic groups to express their demands for their rights?

Prior to the first migrant workers' conference in Melbourne in 1973, there was a statement widely circulated through factories. The Migrant Workers' Committee said, "Migrants are the greater majority of the lower paid workers; (and by 'migrants' they are usually referring to Greek, Italians, Turks and Yugoslavs). They are often the first to lose their jobs and the last to get them back. Migrant women workers belong to the severely exploited section of female workers. Australian migration policies have been designed to supply cheap labour."

I believe that what has to be realised is that equality of educational opportunity, and it would be hoped that all linguists are concerned about that, will require in our society major changes in the distribution of power. Decision making in the educational system is a sensitive barometer of the power relationships within a society. Migrants and many ethnic groups see themselves powerless and alienated from the school system. I believe this conference is a good example of how alienated they are. Bilingualism is one of those demands, one of those things which is most keenly felt by ethnic groups. But I see few representatives from

Federation of Italian Workers and their Families (F.I.L.E.F.), or the Greek Orthodox community, or the Turkish Council or any of the Yugoslav organizations, effectively they have been excluded.

There is a change coming and whether or not we can handle that change remains to be seen. Increasingly there is a militancy among ethnic organizations. The Migrant Workers' Conference was one of these expressions of militancy. One of the burning problems, they said, for migrant workers and their families is that of education: of learning English; of promoting and retaining their own cultures and languages. These needs are ignored by the educational system.

Back last year, the Greek Australian Review [13.] led off with a statement on immigrant education which was signed by some 20 or 30 very eminent educationists in Australia. Immigrant children, it said, who are deprived of an adequate education, have severe restrictions placed on their freedom to choose what to make of their lives in Australia.

We are clearly a multicultural community and our schools have a responsibility to help all children to develop their capacity. The Greek Orthodox community carrying out their own

survey at the end of 1973 said, "It is of paramount importance that migrant languages, such as, Greek, Italian, Turkish, be included in the school curriculum".[14.]

It is good that our consciousness and our sensitivity and our awareness should be raised in discussions like this, but let us not lose sight of the sentiments of migrant workers like Nando Lelli, who at the Migrant Workers' Conference last year said, "Let us not forget that the destiny of our life is in our own hands as nobody realizes the requirements of the needy more than they do themselves".

Confrontation, consciousness raising and, I believe, bilingualism will enable collaboration. For to bring about radical changes in Australian society generally, and the education system particularly, there is going to be a need to develop and build coalitions, of the powerless and, in this particular case, of the ethnic groups.

Ethnic groups whether they be national parent councils as at Brunswick, Migrant Worker Conferences, ethnic organizations like F.I.L.E.F., the Turkish Islamic Association or the Greek Orthodox community must be encouraged to develop. Coalitions must be built. It is suggested that the acid test of whether

a group has power is its capacity to require the total community to share whatever facilities as exist with all the children. It is quite evident that migrants lack power for it has been made quite clear to them that accommodation will not be shared, 70 per cent of present accommodation retards migrant education programs Take the Victorian situation with one of the great scandals related to the demountable classroom program for the teaching of English. A program designed by the Federal Government to provide nearly one million dollars worth of special classrooms for migrant education has been rejected by the Education Department of Victoria. It is quite evident that accommodation will not be shared. The same applies to teaching staff. Most of you will be familiar with the letter distributed to school principals last year. This is an official instruction from the Department.

> "Teachers trained in the teaching of English as a foreign language have other teaching methods. They may not be used for migrant teaching if this leaves unfilled vacancies in their other methods".

It has been made quite clear to ethnic groups that too often their cultural heritage will not be recognised. It is quite clear that those in control will not make available television and radio time. Remember Michael Clyne told you last night that up until four months ago programs on radio and television were permitted only 2.5 per cent of their time in foreign languages. What he

omitted to say was the Act also stated that of the 2.5 per cent, 1.3 per cent had to be in English. There had to be an English explanation of what was being said. As Michael Clyne pointed out, the change of that Act has done nothing for ethnic groups in Australia.

Those who hold power are extremely reticent to move at any of these levels: power to make decisions; power to control; power to direct, is rarely given, it must be taken. It is only too evident that the school system consists of a powerful secure hierarchy. The question we need to ask is, whether or not bilingualism will enable or will play a significant role in building coalitions of common interest among ethnic groups to ensure that there is a radical shift in the distribution of power?

Bilingualism does exist. I believe that bilingual programs, bilingual innovations are creative attempts to come to terms with the demands of migrants themselves. They have a right to demand, they have a right to ensure that their demands are met. They have a right to expect that educationists will support them. They have a right to demand that their education system will reflect their diversity.

Hopefully, bilingual/bicultural programs will assist confrontation, consciousness raising and collaboration. Ethnic groups are powerless, you are the powerful. Such programs lend themselves to confidence building and identify discovery, they lead to security and pride. Ethnic groups have a right to active participation in planning the conduct of such programs. They have the right to the co-operation and assistance of the professional educator.

Maybe, and I say maybe, the conference is not a very good beginning if we take participation seriously. As I look around it seems that we are made up predominantly of professional educators and we run real dangers of professional navel gazing. Let us continue to ask, 'What school policies should be adopted'. But let us also ask, 'Who should decide, and how'.

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The following papers were presented as part of a Symposium on:

BILINGUALISM AND COMMUNITY COMMITMENT TO SCHOOLING

The speakers in order were:

Leslie Claydon	Chairman's introduction
Derek Fowler	Australian involvement
Tony Knight	Cultural pluralism in community context
Patricia Pablete	Reflections on bilingual education

CHAIRMAN'S INTRODUCTION

Leslie Claydon

Let me begin by introducing the members of this symposium. Patricia Pablete is a teacher at Collingwood High School; Derek Fowler is with the Department of Education and Science in Canberra; Tony Knight is a fellow colleague of mine here at La Trobe University.

In his paper, Michael Clyne impressed upon us that bilingualism is a fact of life for a great many children in our schools. The same point was made by Alan Matheson this morning. Perhaps it is worthy of mention that this has been a central understanding informing the work of the teams formed under the Educational Task Force Project of this School of Education, one such team having worked for its two year span of operation at Collingwood High School. There is, of course, a complementary realisation and this has also been to the forefront of the teams as they have addressed themselves to their tasks in the several schools in which the project has operated. Monolingualism presents a problem where the language is not common to the teacher and the parent; where the parent lacks competence in English and the teacher lacks competence in the language of the parent.

As you may be aware, the La Trobe Task Force Project seeks to accomplish two main objectives. It endeavours to provide extensive and advanced level in-service teacher education with a direct flow on from theory into practice. It also hopes to provide a school with a team of established and successful professionals who will work to a task oriented brief over two years: a brief constructed in close consultation with the school concerned and drawn from the latter's goals and the impediments encountered in the effort to achieve them.

In all of the schools in which we have so far worked we have encountered the phenomena of cultural difference. Each of the briefs for the teams - constructed in the manner I have just described - has set this phenomena in the context of home-school liaison. Now it is far too well established that understanding, support and reciprocal action between home and school is a first condition of educational success for further discussion to be needed here. However, it is worthwhile noting what is to be meant by reciprocity in this respect. There must be a flow in both directions; from school to home and from home to school. The point was hinted at by Bert Townsend in his paper of the other evening. It will not do

for the explanations, initiations and directions to flow always from the school to the home. This is particularly vital when these directions and so forth ignore or discount cultural differences.

We are not, I think, clear as yet as to the nature and extent of the role of schools in creating a true recognition of Australia as plural society. (I am assuming that the papers heard at this conference alone leave no-one in doubt of the simple fact that Australia is a plural society. Recognition of the fact is a different thing again of course: so far as I am concerned it involves active and serious consideration of what organisation and distribution of power and resources ought to pertain as a consequence). One may recall at this time the anecdote with which Marta Rado concluded her paper. It concerned an Italian boy who wished to identify himself with Australia but not at the price of rejecting the culture of his parents. How should the school equip him to achieve this?

Recall also Michael Clyne's mention of ethnic schools to which migrant parents send their often unwilling children. What is involved if we assert that the state's system of schooling

should cater for the need which prompts the parents to do this? Is it simply a matter of curriculum content and of teaching method? More importantly again, what is involved in demonstrating to migrant communities that their need is being met by the schools of the state? What provision is essential to securing those two distinct but inseparable ends?

Problems of this kind have been salient in the Task Force Project over the last three years or so, just as they have for long before that for many principals and staff members of schools such as those in which the teams have worked. In search of a resolution we have had to look seriously at the institutional orientation of the school and the nature of the teacher's role. Do we value, admit and utilise the cultural capital of ethnic minorities or do we seek to refashion people by persuading them to cash it in and exchanging it for some standard cultural currency? Is it enough for teachers to concern themselves with the children they teach or must they act in a larger arena?

A section of the second chapter of the Karmel Report (1973) comes down heavily in favour of community involvement in the schooling process. It states that the school as a formal institution, separate from both the home and the world of work,

has shown itself to be inadequate as a means of changing patterns of social stratification. This is one way of arriving at answers to the questions posed above. In the report of the Collingwood Task Force team Open School: Parents in Limbo (1974) Kathleen Skelton quotes a teacher who provides another approach.

> "You can assert that teachers have the sole right to make key decisions on what is to be done in the schools or you can assert that democracy is a good thing. But you cannot have it both ways."

In another chapter of the report Terrence Dankert remarks that parent-teacher interaction and communication appears to be a necessary condition to involving the school in the community and vice versa. As I have indicated earlier, the matter of bilingualism and monolingualism is central to that possibility.

A forthcoming publication 'The Urban School' (1974) focusses on the work of the second Task Force team of the La Trobe Project. In one chapter June Engish strikes an interesting historical note which is opposite to Dankert's quoted remark.

"Students were told that they must speak English in class to counteract their unfortunate way of speaking some foreign language in the home, the yard .... All efforts at communication with parents were made in English. It is no wonder we rarely saw a parent."

All this and very much more serves to underline that the central concern of this conference - bilingual education - is not properly to be thought of solely in terms of particular methodologies and linguistic theories. As Alan Matheson pointed out, we deal with large social issues which have great social and ethical implications or we merely tinker with classroom performances. Bilingual education is not another trick of the trade: which is one reason why this symposium is concerned with school in relation to community.

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AUSTRALIAN INVOLVEMENT

Derek Fowler

As this is a conference about the education of bilingual students before speaking on the involvement of the Australian Department of Education in the bilingual program for aboriginal children in the Northern Territory I thought it would be appropriate if I gave you a general picture of the overall involvement of the Department in the language teaching field.

The Australian Department of Education provides advice to the Government on matters concerning language teaching which are referred to it. As a consequence it is directly involved in the English programs for overseas students, programs for migrant children and programs for migrant adults as well as providing advice and assistance in the teaching of English to aboriginal children. In addition it is required to prepare and supervise the administration of English language tests for overseas students, adult migrants who wish to do accelerated and intensive courses and young people who may wish to enter naval college or certain other Commonwealth departments.

As this conference is mainly concerned about the situation of migrant children I shall first outline for you the Australian Education Department's role in this area, as well as some thoughts on the teaching of migrant languages.

It should be understood that the funding and the overall responsibility for the migrant education program rests within the portfolio of the Minister for Immigration and his Department is responsible for the program's development. The Department of Education assists the Immigration Department by preparing course materials, by giving advice and assistance in the teacher training programs as well as providing a testing service for the adult students as has already been mentioned.

The Department is presently writing or is planning to write the following courses - a course for children below the age of eight, a remedial enrichment course for children over 10, an 8-12 year olds' course and another for the over 12 age group.

In regard to the teaching of languages in the schools the Minister for Education and the Department hold the view that the languages of the predominant migrant groups might be introduced as electives at the primary and lower secondary levels in schools of high migrant density and that these subjects could be made available for all children at those schools.

Where it is practicable and where appropriate teachers are available these subjects could be introduced as optional electives and be made available for a limited number of sessions per week.

In a school where there is a predominance of Greek and Italian children courses in Greek and Italian language and culture could be introduced. These subjects would then be available to children of English-speaking origin as well as to migrant children.

An advantage of such a program would be the presence on school staffs of teachers fluent in the languages of the predominant migrant groups. There would thus be available a ready means of communication between such children and the school, which could minimize the culture "shock" at present experienced by some incoming migrant children. Another advantage could be that the speaking of a foreign language would be made more respectable and, as a consequence, migrant children would be encouraged to retain their mother tongue irrespective of whether their particular language were available at that school. This could reduce child-parent conflict in the home. It should also encourage English-speaking children to take up a foreign language, thus helping to achieve a better general cultural awareness and cross-cultural understanding. The introduction of such languages to the school curriculum should certainly help demonstrate to migrant parents that their own language and culture are valued in the community at large.

In the early stages it might be possible for education authorities to utilise the services of first or second generation migrants already employed in schools. In the long-term education authorities might consider recruiting trainee teachers with fluency in one or more migrant languages.

In the matter of bilingual education, the Department maintains an open mind, and is prepared to listen, in order to benefit from experience elsewhere.

Unfortunately, it is not always possible to draw an exact parallel, on the local scene, with the experiences of other countries in the field of bilingual education. In the United States, for instance, bilingual schooling has been facilitated by the existence, in large measure, of homogeneous ethnic communities. This is by no means always the pattern in Australia.

Situation in the Northern Territory.

In the Northern Territory, some limited degree of homogeneity exists and, following the report and recommendations of an Advisory Group [1], which said:

> "(A bilingual approach) is the approach which makes most sense, not only to the educationists and linguists but also to the Aboriginal people themselves," [2]

the Department has implemented in the Northern Territory the

first of a number of "models" for bilingual education.

Bilingual Education Northern Territory's First Model.

The first model is "appropriate for schools in which there is a single Aboriginal language acceptable to the community and where that language has been analysed and recorded by linguists." (3)

Implementing Bilingual Education in Northern Territory.

In 1973 bilingual education was introduced in 5 schools in the Northern Territory: at

1. Areyonga,
2. Angurugu,
3. Goulburn Island,
4. Hermannsburg, and
5. Milingimbi.

The program was implemented at the pre-school and infants 1 levels, and will go on developing sequentially throughout these schools.

Implementing Bilingual Education: How Effected.

The children's own language is the medium of instruction, English being studied initially as a foreign language, while the children are being brought to a stage of literacy in their native language. Then the literacy skills are transferred to English.

The role of English changes when, perhaps in the third or fourth year of schooling, English also becomes a medium of instruction. Either language is now used as appropriate to the subject being taught at the time. The pupil's mother tongue remains a subject in the curriculum, in which - together with the language arts of his first language - the aboriginal child learns about aspects of his own culture.

For 1974 and Beyond.

What is happening in 1974? The five schools in which the scheme was initiated in 1973 now feature bilingualism in -

(a) Pre-school

(b) Infants I

(c) Infants II

Four more schools this year have begun the bilingual program (in Pre-school and Infants I). They are -

1. Elcho Island.
2. Yayayi
3. Yirrkala
4. Yuendumu

In 1974, bilingual schooling has also been commenced, at the pre-school level only, - at

1. Bathurst Island, and
2. Papunja

So that formal use of the local language is now going on in eleven different communities. Nine different languages are involved.

Developing Literacy Materials.

The development of suitable literacy materials represents a major difficulty. The problem is being overcome by having stationed at the school linguists who have made a full study of the language.

These experts have already prepared primers and associated materials for the schools in which the program commenced in 1973. Similar work is being done in the schools being opened this year.

This work, of course, will continue as the children move through the grades. Thus, a considerable amount of material will be developed.

This in brief, is the summary of the work being undertaken in the language teaching field by the Australian Department of Education.

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CULTURAL PLURALISM IN THE COMMUNITY CONTEXT

Tony Knight

I think this conference has a couple of themes that are emerging. One is obviously language as a cognitive development: it is the primary theme. The second theme that is emerging, certainly with the last few speakers, is the whole meaning of what a multicultural society is about.

Michael Clyne talked last night about the lack of recognition by the Australian community of the notion of cultural pluralism; but Bert Townsend also asked a very interesting question, "What sort of society is Australia aiming for?" Alan Matheson also, I think in a provocative way, talked about the whole notion of power/powerlessness, and the distribution of those groups in the Australian society, visible by race, class, ethnic, and sex differences, who were powerless to participate within the full social context of the community. There is, I suspect, no general dialogue and no vision on a political, economic and social basis about what sort of a society we are heading for and what sort of a society we would like to see evolve. The talk is often on how to develop a healthy economy, it is never on what is necessary to encourage a healthy people. I think that is a very important difference. In fact, I will argue

that we exist institutionally, and particularly in decision making practices, as a monocultural society. This means of course the effective exclusion of social differences.

If we are going to talk about change, social change in a society, which is happening dramatically to Australia at this point in its history, I think we have got to discuss what such change could mean. We can take it in two ways. We can talk about attitudinal changes, or consciousness raising, which is a very popular concept these days, or we can talk about structural changes. I am going to argue that, while consciousness raising and attitudinal changes are important, there is a fundamentally more important perspective which is structural change. Because the structures of institutions contain the logic of how a people are encouraged to think and act towards other people.

I want to make two points only in the time I have and this is one of them. I am going to argue that the institutions in a society either exclude or restrict participation of racial groups by procedures that have become conventional, a part of the system of bureaucratic rules and regulations. It is this logic of systems that is very important to understand. The logic of systems consists of the rules and regulations which

people develop within the institutions we all move through, i.e., schools, the political systems, the economic system, and the commercial world. The talk is often, as Alan Matheson pointed out, about cultural deprivation and environmental deprivation; and, that certain people, particularly migrants, suffer from these maladies. I think we have need to challenge the modes of logic within those definitions and what they imply, particularly when such assumptions directly influence social policy and community attitudes.

I want to talk about structures in four particular contexts. I want to talk about work, decision making practices, due process and the procedures of law, and finally schools. I can't do justice to any of the four in such a short period of time, but, by structures I mean, the main social arenas that most of us move through conventionally in a society.

Alan Matheson also talked very strongly about the world of work and its relationship with migrants, (the bilingual and multi-cultural population of this society), particularly with reference to the practice of bringing migrants into this country as cheap labour.

The word racism has never been mentioned in this conference and I am going to argue that such labour policies have been racist policies. Such labour policies are deeply imbued with colonial concepts and in turn develop this sort of work rationale, they need to be thought about very carefully. It is not just a matter of racial bias, it is racism. It depends how you phrase it and from what cultural perspective you are talking. If you are talking to blacks, I suspect they are going to talk about racism. If you are going to talk to an Anglo, I suspect you might talk about 'cultural bias', or 'work opportunity'.

The other point about structures which I think is terribly important is decision making practices. Such decision making practices in work, political, social and professional groups define power in a very real sense. If we look around and see how many migrants are involved in the critical decision making of this community we find that there are very, very few. Furthermore, if people are denied access to decision making practices, they are also denied access to information and this is part of the whole notion of powerlessness - people who are unable to gain access to information are unable to make meaningful decisions. We have got to start talking about what that means in pluralistic terms.

The other process is law and order. What sort of treatment do people have under a system that is essentially monocultural and monolingual in its understanding of the sorts of groups that it serves? When we look at other countries, particularly the American scene, and the host of charges made by Blacks, Chicanos, and native Americans, of unequal treatment under the law, we may have reason also to question some of the practices of law and subsequent procedures in this country. I am presently doing some research concerning juvenile delinquency, and I recently came across a very interesting comment by a social worker, who had interviewed a father, a 'migrant father' as he was called, and the report read :

> " ... that he impresses as an extremely rigid and angry man who, in spite of his 20 years in Australia, clings desperately to his traditional culture patterns and projects his failure to maintain them on to the Australian environment. He thus blames the customs, school and law for not supporting him."

Now that was, according to the report, a so-called example of 'cultural deficit', or 'cultural deprivation'. I argue instead, that this is the comment of an extremely perceptive and concerned man, and I think he quite actively portrays the symptoms of institutional powerlessness which he has experienced in this country.

And finally, the institution of schooling. Some of our speakers have discussed this issue in depth; I was particularly interested in Bert Townsend's comment last night on the whole notion of 'streaming' and the practice of testing migrant children in schools. So much of our present classification systems implement only Anglo conformity. Measurement procedures are included in the bias of this process.

I agree with Marta Rado that the institution of a school is the problem rather than the reverse; rather than the kids coming into school with a whole range of 'problems' or 'deficits', the problem lies in the school's inability to handle those differences, both cultural and social.

One of the interesting things that we find when we look at how the streaming procedures act, not just in terms of the way students are sorted into individual schools, or into various groups, but also how we define those groups as special classes, migrant education, and a range of other labels. I argue, by the way, that separating children into these groups permanently, or even on a rather less than permanent basis, is a very destructive process. We have examples, not only in this country, but also extensive evidence overseas that when we do this, we segregate children and remove them from the main stream

of the school life. Therefore, we deny them access to skills (academic and social) which they need to survive later on in that school. It is one way of depriving migrant children from gaining full access into the education system. But, when we look on the Victorian system as a whole, into the tripartite streaming system we have of private, high, and technical schools, (and now the community schools) - I call them the heads, hands and hearts streams - we find an interesting process. Because, I want to argue, it is not just that we have groups of 80 per cent and 70 per cent migrants in some schools, but we have groups of 90 per cent and 100 per cent Anglos in other schools, and it is the fact that these Anglo children are denied access to the cultural backgrounds of migrants that I think is of equal concern. It is not just that migrants are disadvantaged from gaining access to the institutions which we consider to be important in society, but that Australian children are equally disadvantaged by being denied access to information that enables them to understand the sorts of rich cultural backgrounds, history, life-styles and language patterns of other groups of people.

I think there are two distinct issues involved here, and one such issue is a form of institutionalised middle-class

ignorance that has been developed concerning cultural pluralism. And, by the way, when we look at the population of private schools in particular, where there are obviously going to be major streams of potential professional people moving out to universities, and eventually into the work force to assume positions of leadership, (given the present curriculum flows) we find students dismally ignorant of what cultural pluralism is all about. This is because they have been denied this contact by the schooling procedures involved. I make the distinction that they have not been educated, they have been schooled, and there is quite a distinction between these two concepts.

I was interested in a question from the audience last night about primary schools. I have a friend who last year was teaching in a Fitzroy Primary School and I visited regularly that particular school. There was a considerable number of Greek and Italian parents coming into the school at recess and lunch time to be with their children, to bring their lunches, and so forth. The teachers, as a whole, were very disturbed by this practice, they questioned the right of those, whom they defined as the 'black-on-black brigade', to

go into that school and be involved with their children. There was no attempt to bring those parents into the school, honestly and openly, to discuss with them and to understand the sorts of backgrounds they represent; nor to understand the frustration and powerlessness that those parents have in a school situation where they are excluded. One suspects that a migrant woman who doesn't speak English finds the situation quite terrifying. The one involvement they have during the school day is to be with their children and to converse with them in their own language. A very important dialogue. Time and time again I go into primary schools and secondary schools, but particularly primary schools, and I am horrified at the way in which the teachers perceive the 'black-on-black' brigade <u>out</u> in the school yard and misunderstand them. I think this is a very important consideration because it is one way of excluding people from institutions, and that is what I mean by institutional racism. We have got to deal with that one; and in the logic of our classrooms. Not to deal with these issues is a cultural commitment to racial prejudice. If we look at the range of primary schools throughout the State, I am afraid this is often a frequent happening.

My last comments would be in support of my colleague, Leslie Claydon. He spoke of the Task Force concept of trying

to breakdown this institutional dependency on a particular logic, to try to get inside schools, work from inside schools for change, rather than work from our devotional research chapels up here in these universities. We should try to get inside institutions, look to see the way they work, look to see the way people think, to juggle those sort of concepts around, to demystify the cultural assumptions that we have all been brought up with, particularly if you have lived in a neighbourhood in a white house with blue shutters, on top of the hill. The Task Force concept is an attempt to demystify a whole range of those assumptions about ourselves and the way we view the world around us. Also, it tries to integrate into the curriculum within school a range of histories, a range of backgrounds and differences; thus those differences will not be seen as deficits. It is too easy to talk about 'cultural deprivation'. I argue that a five year old kid who can speak two languages is a damn sight more skilled linguistically than I, and I am paid to work in a university. Unfortunately, we too often tend to see this skill as 'cultural deprivation', or some other fancy name, and I would like to put question marks about those easily handled slurs and the labelling processes that are placed on people because of that procedure.

The other very interesting project that is going on in the schools by the way, is being run by another colleague in the

132 Department, and that is trying to bring people into the

teaching service who have European credentials. They are in a teacher training situation here, Diploma of Education program, and eventually they will go out into the schools. Now this colleague has met enormous difficulties in convincing teachers' colleges and university training institutions that this concept might be serving a much needed area in our teacher recruiting procedures. Such procedures have been traditionally mono-cultural in practice. I might add here, that the Education Department of Victoria, particularly the past secondary Director, has been extremely co-operative in supporting the Task Force concept. But we do have a couple of programs going here, and I think that they are very important.

So, my last point would be that teaching is, in a sense, a political consciousness towards these issues. Teaching is not just a matter of being an efficient technician. I argue that technical competence is very important, but rational perceptions towards the political, economic, social, and ethical ramifications of education are also critical. This includes the notion of what sort of a society we are looking for, what sort of a vision we have for the 13 plus million people living in this society. One could argue that one might not know what this society is going to

look like, but we can argue about what we would like it to look like, and that dialogue would include everybody, with all those differences,language, culture and lifestyle.

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REFLECTIONS ON BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Patricia Pablete.

There are only about four points I would like to make. I have been thinking about these over and over again during the last few weeks, ever since I knew I was going to speak to you.

The first point is that, in my opinion, education is a continuous process not just a process that starts when we are 3 or 4 or 5 years old and finishes when we are 15 years old. If I were to be asked where I would put the emphasis of human resources and economic resources in this long continuous process of education, I would say that I would put them in the earlier years of development in the pre-school and primary school years, I would also like to see something done in the 20 to 30 year old bracket, and in the 50 to 70 year old bracket. I don't agree that we should only be thinking of the adolescent and the child as the most important consumers of education. I think that if we are to do anything with children, especially with migrant children, we should start with the parents, and even the grandparents, because in the countries of origin of these children grandparents and other older members of the

community are very important. Most of the problems that the children have, and which we cannot solve, arise from all these people and we are not reaching them in any sort of way. Perhaps we are trying to teach them English but that is about all.

My second point is that, in my opinion, bilingual education is a feature of a multicultural approach to education. If we really want to see a multicultural society, we would have to be just as committed in persuading non-migrant Australian students to understand and become acquainted with other cultures, as we are in familiarizing migrant students with the Australian culture. I think these two things should be done simultaneously if we are to take bilingual education seriously.

My third point is that no matter how expensive your equipment is, what modern methods you have, and what beautiful books there are, education boils down, in my opinion, to human relationships. Human relations are subtle particularly between people who are different, who are strangers. Perhaps one of the things that is really stopping us in relating to our migrant students is not so much the language or a lack of information but the apprehension that such relationships

might bring about change. It is easy to establish a relationship with a person whom we do understand, whom we know and we like. It is another matter to establish a relationship with people that we do not know anything about.

Now as teachers, we feel that this is our mission. Or do we want, for example, the student to know the difference between an equilateral triangle and an isosceles triangle? But if we really do feel that we want to establish relationships with people, are we well equipped in skills and abilities to do so? Has anybody told us how to achieve this? Have all the colleges of education, for example, taught us any skills that social workers have, that priests have? Are we aware of this? Shouldn't we perhaps, be asking to be taught these skills?

COMMUNICATION INTERFERENCE AND BILINGUAL GROUPS

Rede Lar

My paper concerns a broader approach to bilingual instruction in that I take language to be just one element in the complex human communication matrix. I am more interested in how different modes of communication work together or disjointly during the transmission of a message. By modes of communication I mean the primary senses of touch, smell, taste, sight, and hearing. All or various combinations of them are often signalling information simultaneously during a communication transaction. For instance, I might answer another person's question with a positive head nod while I verbally reply with a "yes".

However, the different modes do not always complement each other. The signals are not redundant with regard to the one message. For example, the message may be conveyed with a negative statement while the head nod remains positive. In other words contradictory sensory signals about the same intended message may be generated by the sender which confuses the receiver. Consequently, the intended message can be interpreted in two ways. And this is communication interference.

Transmission of a message does not imply that the signals are complementary; they can be contradictory as shown by the above example; the visual and verbal signals are incongruous. Hence, incongruent signals may be defined as two or more sensory signs produced coincidently but with oppositional content so that the message can not always be understood. Even if one signal is much stronger than the other, the receiver will generally have a less definitive or vague conception of the sender's true intent.

So what application does communication interference as previously defined (incongruent signals) have for bilingual studies?

Since dilemmas can occur between native speakers during a communication sequence, one can predict that communication interference will more than likely increase or be magnified when non-native (migrant) and native speakers engage in communication. This seems particularly true for the bilingual during second language learning if he comes from a culture which shares very few similarities with the new one. At this time the bilingual mainly concentrates upon the verbal. He is intently involved with the basic vocabulary, syntax and grammar of the second language.

Formal instruction is limited to these aspects of language proper. His instruction does not include other sensory cues or signals associated with the new language. For example, he gets no explanation about eye contact behavior for sender and receiver. In other words bilingual instruction does not entail such important items as listed by Scheflen (p.90, 1972).

As the people of Europe and Asia have come to the United States, many of them have quickly adopted American dress, vocabulary, and certain customs, at least in public. But the acculturation of interpersonal spacing, gesticulation, and vocal qualities of speech comes much more slowly - possibly because these behaviors are unconscious and are not formally taught. As a consequence, the original patterns of gesture and spacing remain until roughly the third generation. So the ethnic background of most migrant grandchildren can still be guessed by watching their spacing and gestures.

For this reason language learning should perhaps take on a more generalized approach to communication rather than solely written language. Conflict and communication interference would seem to increase because of lack of instruction which is what Scheflen reiterates (p.94,1972):

> When people have come from different ethnic backgrounds, they can misinterpret each other's gestures and nuances of metacommunication ... Different interpersonal spacing between members of two cultures may lead to hurt feelings and value judgments.

He cites for example the Black movement behavior interaction between males necessitates less face looking as this is considered rude, whereas White Anglos normally look their listner"in the eye". So essentially conflicting signals will multiply because the language learner is unconscious of his, for instance, Italian body language which interferes with usual English body language that Australians see accompanying spoken English.

Without this preparation in other sensory signals the migrant's general communication success may be radically altered even though his speech is proper. Bilingual education has failed if the overall communication rapport of the migrant has decreased. This seems particularly true in light of recent results of psychological investigations carried out by Albert Mehrabian (p.43, 1971) and Michael Argyle, et al. (1971). Both researchers have tested

communication cues in social interaction in which sensory signals were incongruous.

According to the two findings, people decode communication messages containing inconsistent signals by giving priority to facial expression (55%), tone of voice (38%), and words (7%). Obviously language is not the only or the most important communication signal according to these psychologists. However traditional second language learning programs have been largely, if not totally, oblivious to improving non-language communication skills. Thus, communication skills are still restricted to speech and its syntax, morphology and semantics. Primary skills that have been proven to be valuable such as movement behavior, i.e. facial gestures, and paralinguistics, i.e. tone of voice, remain outside bilingual instruction which seems somehow defeating the purpose of these programs, for good language skills, in the restricted traditional sense, do not mean good communication. And herein lies a serious criticism of bilingual instruction; there is an over-emphasis on the "word" and what constitutes good Standard English. It seems over cerebralized educators have mis-taken the true purpose of their profession. The primary function of education should be the dissemination of knowledge. In order to accomplish this goal a basic

foundation in good communication and rapport is essential. Furthermore, this rapport is not limited to language that's only part of the communication sequence. It is time for bilingual education to expand.

Often good-intentioned educators and linguists lose track of reality in their efforts to help the migrant with his sole problem - as they see it - learning to speak English. Their efforts are sometimes pointless in view of migrant problems. For instance, they will usually take the position that unless a migrant speaks Standard English he will never enter into the higher rungs of the economic-social strata. Their assumption seems plausible. However, reality is that some migrant groups in Australia such as the Hungarian-Australian group already had a high position in education (upper middle class) before they arrived in Australia. Many have entered their profession here without speaking perfect, Standard English; they speak English with a Hungarian accent; yet their social-economic status is higher than the majority of native Australians who lack a tertiary degree. Less than 2% of Australians have a tertiary degree; so if educators equate education with "high" status it seems that migrants already have a higher status than 98% of Australians despite the fact that they do not speak standard English.

Also, this assumption that educator's espouse - good Standard English (spoken) means high economic social status can be seen to be discriminatory and hardly an accurate proposition for several reasons.

First, the migrant who has immigrated to Australia after his eighth birthdate has already mastered his dominant language which is generally non-English excluding migrants from the Commonwealth countries. Along with this language comes its paralinguistics or such things as rhythm, intonation, etc. Beyond the spoken language he has also mastered the movement behavior code within his native culture. What this means is that rhythmic patterns of "how" to talk which is not to be confused with "what" he says and "how" to move which is not "what" to move has been learned.

In my dissertation (Lar, 1973) I reported that five-week old infants babble and move in a rhythmic manner that corresponds to the spoken language and body language of the mother. I surmised in the work that quite likely neurophysiological brain mechanisms are responsible for the synchronization of the pre-verbalization and movement behavior of the infant. If this is the case, it would appear that migrants may have problems with the new English rhythms and Australian movement that may never be overcome in the sense of complete mastery of English paralinguistic or Australian parakinesic communication features.

Plasticity of the brain decreases with age. So it would seem that the migrant whose first language is Greek, for example, may speak English with a Greek accent or Greek paralinguistic features.

Due to neurophysiological mappings of the brain, set already at five weeks of age, the migrant is unlikely to ever fully master spoken Standard English (not the syntax etc. but the rhythm)or the parakinesic features of Australian movement behavior (force, timing, spacing). And this often seems to be the case as previously noted by Scheflen that migrants have grandchildren that still display, in this instance, the native Greek rhythms and gestures.

Yet, educators maintain that the first generation migrant must speak Standard English which appears highly impossible due to the timing servo-mechanisms of the human brain. Again, the educator is expecting and demanding the impossible. And what does this do to the self-esteem of the migrant - the self-esteem that he must have to insure good communication? What does it do to the migrant family when migrant children correct the "funny sounding" non-Standard English of their parents as their teacher's correct them? Educators are creating problems not solving them.

Secondly, proof that there is a one-to-one correspondence between Standard English speaker and his or her high economic-

social status has never been documented. Beyond this point, why should the teacher or administrator dictate what socio-economic status a migrant should have? Why should the White-Anglo Saxon Australian tell migrants and impose on them their value judgment that working on assembly lines in automobile factories is debasing? How is this opiniated and biased educator going to raise the self-esteem of the migrant by denouncing the migrant's livelihood which he may in fact be very proud of? Did the educator ask the migrant, first, if he enjoys his work and is satisfied with it before condemning it?

Furthermore, causal relationships between Standard English and high social status is hardly forthcoming in view of dialectal variations of language in various countries throughout the world. For instance, geographical pockets within the United States have various dialects. There is the New York, Boston, and Southern dialects for instance which are named after the general location where they are spoken. These are considered to be non-Standard English dialects in the U.S., however, the people within the regions do not exhibit a substandard economic-social status. Likewise the dialect spoken in the Southern section of the United States as in Birmingham, Alabama illustrates the low correlation between spoken dialect and status, for this city reportedly has one of the highest ratio of millionaires for any major city in the country; the dialect spoken is Southern not Standard English.

The latter dialect is indicative of the Mid-Western States which is not recognized as the area with the highest socio-economic standard of living.

Thirdly, many times educators and language specialists in their sincere effort to improve the migrant's status are really counterproductive. Frequently, one hears an educator comment that the only way to insure that migrants achieve "higher" status is through the magic of Standard English. In other words to become the corporate executive the newly arrived Turkish migrant should take a crash program and master Standard English, therefore, he'll never have to work on the assembly line. After all educators - the 2 per cent intellectual elite in Australia - have decided that assembly lines in factories are the root of all evil - especially the migrant's. Assembly line work is menial, degrading and ghettoising (whatever that is - academicians are interested in rhetoric not definitions). So upon arriving in Australia the migrant is told that unless he speaks Standard English he will never have status which is ridiculous. Everyone has status. Better or higher status is strictly value judgement.

It seems unreasonable and preposterous for academicians to formulate opinions about this or that job being better than another. And then, in the name of intellectual authority, impose their viewpoint on the unsuspecting migrant and his children. Doomed forever

everytime they utter a word. It seems that the self-respect and dignity of the migrant assembly line worker or anyone else should be taught - not the opposite - the biased elitest's viewpoint. Does degradation begin in the bilingual program? Quite likely many of the migrants enjoy their jobs as much as the educators enjoy teaching. Value judgements in the classroom such as the above is generating problems for the migrant. If Australians want automobiles, then, they need assembly lines - that's a fact not a myth. If certain job conditions on the assembly line are de-humanizing, change the conditions but don't condemn the status of the job which is undermining the self-esteem of those who make an honest and valuable contribution to society.

A more insidious and subtle form of linguistic discrimination and biases enters the overall work force. Educators are responsible for the tests personnel uses to assess a job applicant. Even if the candidate writes and spells in good Standard English, when the migrant speaks he can't hide his Yugoslav or Polish accent or conceal his Yugoslav or Polish movement behavior which has earlier said to be more important than the actual syntax and semantics or speech proper during communication. Personnel and society have emphatically been told that Standard English is the "appropriate" dialect to speak, so, obviously the migrant is not up to par. And as stated previously - it is a condition he may not be able to change. So are educators helping migrants and their status?

It would appear that the educator's demands are more damaging than beneficial.

Consequently, it seems more feasible for bilingual instruction to incorporate an expanded program based on human communication. Tolerance or good communication - not Standard English - should be the primary goal in these programs. There is no place in education for value judgments and unattainable demands. Dignity and self-respect of the individual revolves on human tolerance. To achieve this goal instruction should contain information about non-language cues such as movement behavior and cultural values. The approach should be interdisciplinary. The format might include instruction in movement behavior, proxemics, and semiotics. The proposed expansion of bilingual instruction is not meant to replace current bilingual practice but complement it. There exists today an overemphasis on verbal communication which needs to be supplemented with visual communication. Psychologists claim that we remember about 20% of what we hear, 40% of what we see, and 70% of what we both hear and see. Bilingual programs should take advantage of efficient learning techniques and provide visual data with language instruction. Finally more interdisciplinarian content in bilingual instruction can alleviate the verbal tyranny mentioned in the following quote from Dominic La Russo (p.3, 1971):

"In our own time much is heard about the communication gap between sub-cultures, races, parents and children. If it exists at all, this gap may well be the product of too much rather than too little communication; it may derive from a kind of intellectual pollution produced by an over emphasis upon verbalization in all phases of human affairs. We tend to think and act as though there is a one-to-one relationship between verbal activity and effective human interaction, between what a teacher says and what a pupil learns, between what a lawyer articulates and how a jury decides. Yet, the evidence needed to support such a belief is not now available. It may well be that learning, persuasion and generally effective interaction take place <u>in spite of</u> rather than <u>because</u> of verbal activity".

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The following papers were presented as part of a Forum on:

PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

The speakers in order were:

Gavan Boyle	Prahran High School
Shayne Boyd	Princes Hill High School
Max Peter	Coburg High School
June Engish	Brunswick Girls' High School

Gavan Boyle

Teacher - Prahran High School

I am not particularly involved with the bilingual program all the time, there are other teachers, but I was asking students, for the purpose of this conference, what they thought of it. I can't quote verbatim what an Arabic speaking student, 13 years of age said, because he has been in Australia for only seven months and it was rather difficult extracting information from him. But, to paraphrase it, he said, "I read the Arabic Booklets" I said, "Why", and he looked at me as if to say: You silly fool for asking me such a stupid question.

"Because it is my language", he said.
Well I was silly wasn't I? And, I asked later on, "What will happen when you do understand the English book? Will you read the English booklets alone?"

"Half and half", he said. "Then I will be able to speak two languages."

I think that does summarize what I have to say. The students need a sense of self-respect, and bilingual education to me, at least as far as theory is concerned, is one positive way in

which we can give students that sense of self-respect. But, as a practising teacher, I have found difficulties.

The difficulties I have found extend only over the last three to four weeks, and that certainly is not long enough for me to draw many conclusions.

Firstly,a background to Prahran High School. We have over a thousand students at the school and the curriculum is fairly traditionally structured. The migrant program works basically on a withdrawal system where students are taken from subject areas as long as the teachers will not moan and groan and swear and curse at the migrant students' absences. In terms of bilingual work done in the school, three years ago there was a course where students learnt Greek but that was abandoned because, to quote the teacher who is still at the school, "I do not want to teach that any more because I found that the actual students who come in have such a diverse range of schooling and skills in the language." So she was experiencing difficulties - she was a Greek teacher - and she was unable to cope with the problem of teaching Greek. Now, whether that is her problem or our problem, is another matter.

Secondly, we do have some foreign language books in the

library. The books which existed last year, of course have floated around and ended up in migrant homes which is a very good thing in my opinion but not so good for the librarian. We spent a couple of hundred dollars this year on foreign language books and those books are very enthusiastically taken from the library.

Thirdly, I have tried to encourage students to bring their own books along. There are students who are willing to do so. For instance, there is a Form 4 lad (aged about 15) who comes from Venezuela, and he brings along Spanish science books and when he is bored or frustrated with second language learning he reverts to doing some science. He is working with form 1 students (aged about 11) as well as with Form 2,3, and 4, so it is rather a difficult situation.

Fourthly, at the school there is the Multilingual Project which was begun only three to four weeks ago. I decided that the beginners in English would be an interesting group, and certainly a deserving one, to start with; also a Form 3 group.

The beginners consisted of a group of eleven students ranging from Form 1 to Form 4. Before the bilingual program was introduced, they spent five periods a day in migrant English and one period in Physical Education. But now they do attend classes, for various practical subjects, such as,

home economics, art, needlework, etc. That means that the migrant education program has changed a lot over the last three weeks, in which the bilingual program has been in force. The students meet as a group about twelve times a week, which amounts to about eleven hours. During this time, they usually do a little bit of formal second language learning and then (perhaps for about half the time) they are sent off to do other work from resource materials, such as the Multilingual Project.

When I introduced the Project to them they said, "Oh, but what about our English?" I said, ' Look we will see how you go for the moment. You have got a lot of English work at the moment, you are doing about 3 to 4 periods of English a day. This will provide some variety and you may even pick up some English from it. You just tell me after a few weeks. Let's just try it out.' So, away we went with the beginners.

The Form 3's were more enthusiastic, most of them go to Greek school and are fairly competent in Greek. They took on the project very readily. The reaction two or three days later from the students who were saying "What about our English?" was, "When are we next going to do the booklets?" So, their opinions had changed completely, they

were enthusiastic. I think they were enthusiastic for a number of reasons, but most importantly, their minds were functioning more than they had been in the past.

Previously, in the beginners' class there was a lot of friction, a hell of a lot of friction. There were three teachers taking that group of students five or six times a day. Each of those students was presenting some sort of disciplinary problem. Now, immediately, there really was some degree of social interaction, there was a heightening of morale of the students, and their sense of self-identity seemed to be coming to the fore, and they were becoming happy. So, there was something positive being done at Prahran High School. Fair enough, I thought, bilingual education is the answer. But the honeymoon was over, some of the problems started to arise.

There are specific problems that relate to the program and people who do not know the program and don't know the units probably won't readily appreciate them. I will briefly mention them and then suggest that there are solutions. The solutions are up to the teachers, they are not up to the people who develop bilingual materials.

Firstly, the structure of the unit I used (Communications) itself is very fluid, very open. Questions are worded, 'Would

you like to'. 'What about suggesting ways in which you could do such and such', and the students aren't used to that type of question. In their English classes they are asked specific questions and they have to answer off pat. In a lot of the school subjects at Prahran they answer off pat. (That doesn't necessarily describe other inner suburban schools) Also, in their ethnic schools they answer off pat. Now, suddenly a flexible program arrives where they have to refer to several booklets and a resource kit. They are expected to work independently, and they become confused.

For instance, some Arabic speaking students were classified by an Arabic teacher at the school as being very intelligent and very well equipped in the Arabic language, but I found that they were not comprehending. I think it was because they were not used to the structure. So a teacher organising this program, does have to bear in mind this problem, and give the necessary support.

The second problem is one of literacy in the mother tongue. With the Greek students there were several cases where they were not able to comprehend because their ability to read Greek was limited. This was encountered at the school three years ago, as I mentioned at the beginning.

Teachers have to realize and become aware of these difficulties and take steps to counteract them and it is only the individual that can resolve these sorts of problems.

In summary, I do honestly feel that the Multilingual Project will succeed at Prahran High School but only if the teachers are prepared to put a lot into it. And I think that any teacher who takes up this sort of project must be prepared to do a lot more work. A lot of work has been done but there is a lot more to be done yet.

Shayne Boyd

Teacher Princes Hill High School

Last year at Brunswick Girls' High School (this year I am teacing at Princes Hill High School) we conducted a trial on one of Marta Rado's Multilingual Project units. The reason we conducted it was to find out the sort of problems the units would present to teachers and students. We carried through the unit until its completion; this took about six months. It was a worthwhile experiment.

The students who participated were about a dozen Greek girls from Forms 1 to 3 (11 to 14 year olds). They ranged from two girls, who were virtually off the ship (or off the plane) when we started the unit, to a number of girls who had been in the country from four to five years. This meant that there was a range in their English language competence and in their length of stay in Australia. Why did we choose Greek girls? Initially, we felt that the school had in-built support for Turkish and Italian girls,we had a Turkish teacher and Turkish language classes, and we had a number of Italian-speaking teachers and Italian classes. We decided that the Greeks weren't getting enough support from the school and so we started with the Greek program.

The unit was entitled "Sport", and it consisted of the usual multilingual format that Marta Rado has developed: that is, it had booklets (one in Greek and one in English) and a resource kit. The girls were given a book in each language, and the resource kit was made available every time we met. The unit was designed to bring out the similarities and differences between the two cultures. In this way we could start with the students' knowledge when we had discussions or presented them with new material. The unit was also designed to introduce the students to certain elements of Australian culture, such as 'What, do Australians do at weekends?' and 'Why is sport so important?'

As students worked through the unit the tendency was, first of all to work solidly in Greek. All the discussions were in Greek. The English was very rarely looked at. But, as we progressed through the unit, some of the discussions began to take place in English and there was a tendency for more of the students to refer to the English text. The two booklets were used: there was a transference from the sole use of Greek at the beginning to a use of both English and Greek as the unit developed.

In addition to the unit, we screened, in conjunction with Brunswick Technical School, a number of Greek/Turkish films at the local Greek cinema. This was particularly

valuable in that it showed we weren't merely paying lip service to the idea of valuing their culture and language. We were actually saying, "O.K., we will come to see your films. We will participate. We are not just going to show you English films". The students responded to this as you would expect. We also had sessions of Greek dancing. At times, after working for, say 35minutes the girls would stop and all participate in some Greek dancing. I encouraged them to bring along their records. It was a lovely end to a session. Greek dancing was taught in the school in Physical Education - we were able to extend this. The unit also stimulated many discussions on wide-ranging topics. My knowledge of Greece and Greek culture increased dramatically.

Evaluation of the unit

It was a trial and we were ironing out certain difficulties One of the problems we encountered was that initially the unit was not self-correcting and we had a mammoth task trying to correct the students' work in Greek. I do not speak Greek and we had no Greek-speaking teachers in the school which meant we had to go outside the school to get correction and this was a problem. As a result we decided that a large part of the unit should be self-correcting, so that, without a native language speaking teacher, students would still get some sort

of feedback from what they were doing.

Student reaction

Firstly, I would like to note the reaction of the non-Greek students. Generally they clamoured for the introduction of the unit in their language, especially the Arabic-speaking students (Egyptian and Lebanese). They really wanted to start and, in fact, often came around and read the English versions and impatiently waited until the booklets in their own language arrived. When they did arrive, they took them off and worked on them on their own until they had caught up with the Greek students.

Secondly, one of the main benefits of the unit, when used with a small group of students, was that peer group learning was very much in evidence. I will cite a couple of examples. We had a sixteen year old Greek girl who had been in Australia for about five years. She was very listless and apathetic. We didn't know why she came to school, and neither, I think, did she. She didn't seem to be getting anything out of school and yet she came. She didn't have much self-respect: it had all been eroded away. Working with this unit, we discovered that she had a very deep knowledge of Greek history and was able to pass on this knowledge to the students who questioned her. She became a valuable resource and seemed to regain her self-respect.

Her whole attitude to school and to her other subjects changed. I remember that her typing teacher came up to me and said: "What has happened to Soula? Suddenly she is doing things." I felt that this change was directly related to the fact that she had become someone who was greatly valued and respected by the other students.

The second example was a much younger girl who was unable to read and write in English. She found that she wanted to do the unit very badly. She had been to school in Greece and so had some basic knowledge of the Greek language in its written form. The other students helped her tremendously. She was able to write in Greek when she couldn't write in English, and this led to her wanting to learn to read and write English. The result of this was that she spent a number of lunch times each week, until the end of the year - wasn't just a short term interest - reading with her form teacher.

Overall there were a number of benefits to certain individual students. Although we largely worked as a group quite often I gave the unit to students who worked on them individually. This was especially done with the newly-arrived students and I think it was extremely valuable for them. Instead of studying only English all day, they could work in

Greek - keep working, keep thinking - not merely exist in a situation in which English was the only accepted language for work at school. Two beginners who used the unit progressed in their acquisition of English remarkably rapidly. This may have been due to the girls being exceptionally bright, but their progress was noteworthy.

Other students also benefited, including a group who had been in Australia for a number of years but whose ability to use the English language in writing was very poor. Their level of conceptual development was quite high but they were unable to express themselves satisfactorily in English. Their written English was similar to that of a five to seven year old. When given the unit in English and in Greek, they were able to express themselves in their own language at their own level of maturity. Reading their essays (which had been translated into English), one could see quite clearly the different standard in their English and Greek work. I suppose we were ensuring the continuation of their cognitive development.

In summing up, I can say that working with the Multilingual Project materials was a very valuable experience for me, and I think, for the girls too.

Max Peter

Principal — Coburg High School

As I am not directly involved with the teaching of Migrant English, and as we have been using the bilingual scheme in my school for only a week or so, perhaps my task is to give a general outline of the situation at Coburg High School.

A survey done a few weeks ago of 606 of our 670 pupils showed that seventy per cent come from "migrant families" - where one or both parents were born outside Australia. Thirty-seven per cent of pupils were born outside Australia, and about a quarter of these have been in Australia less than five years.

The school is a "disadvantaged school," eligible for Disadvantaged Schools Grant money, we are of comparatively low socio-economic intake and a high migrant population, and the survey revealed that the largest group of parental occupations was labourer or factory worker. It also goes without saying that a high proportion of our pupils' mothers are working, and many of those at home are minding pre-school children of neighbours who are working. We have a small but steady intake of non-English speaking pupils, this year a little smaller than last year, and this year so far almost all have been Lebanese, Arabic speakers.

Our resources at the school consist of three teachers, slightly fewer than we had last year (although I hope this situation will be rectified). The three teachers, are of excellent quality, with tremendous devotion to duty and they make the program work within the limits imposed on them.

We have a house, acquired by various means, adjoining the school. This separation from the main building is very handy because children can be withdrawn from the school for greater or lesser periods of time as necessary, and yet be in such close proximity to the schoolground that they can mingle with the mainstream of pupils for social contact. If teachers feel that a newcomer should remain in the annexe all day for several weeks this can be arranged with no trouble. On the other hand, a child can be placed in with the mainstream for part of the time; this can be done so that the child can return and be cushioned from the rude shock of such contact.

The house is equipped with such Commonwealth equipment as we are entitled to, plus some money from the Disadvantaged Schools Grant from last year, and, hopefully, from this year, together with resources secured by the school. Now, I must be frank about this - our interest is in teaching English to the

non-English speaker. One simple reason is that we have nobody on the staff who can speak anything else but English, except one Italian-speaking teacher who arrived this year, and is fully engaged in teaching Italian and French.

The English we teach can be, I suppose, divided broadly into four streams (and pupils may be involved with one, two, three or four of these).

1. We have migrant English withdrawal groups for the non-English speakers and all those at the lower end of the spectrum who can be fitted in, bearing in mind that three teachers cannot cover a great area because of the demands on them.
2. We have remedial groups (or at least we had - because of non-replacement of a resigning teacher our Remedial English teacher had to be withdrawn from this field and placed into other classes).
3. We have "Special English" - another form of Remedial English for those pupils not taking a second language at Forms 1 and 2 (11 to 13 years old). It was felt that pupils who were barely literate in English should not attempt other languages at this stage, so we should

give them more English. These groups are blocked on the timetable with Italian and French classes at Forms 1 and 2.

4. Then we have "normal English" which in itself has to be modified because most forms contain a high proportion of migrant or under-achieving pupils.

When I talk of our problems, I suppose you are not learning anything you do not already know but I think it is necessary to set them before you.

The major one is that of communication with parents. We have not solved the problem at Coburg and I do not know anyone else who has, except Brunswick Girls' High School. I do not seem able to find a way to get parents to school unless the children are in trouble or they have a complaint - and this is not the way I want them to come. Were I to have multilingual or bilingual teachers on the staff, irrespective of what subjects they were teaching, this would be of help. Were I to have a multi- or bilingual social worker (or workers) from the Department of Immigration this would be better still. These are possibilities if one has the people with skill and time to do the job.

Our school is, by and large, equipped with staff on the same staffing ratio as schools in North Balwyn or any of the "golden circle" Eastern suburban schools, with the exception of gaining a couple of migrant teachers. Perhaps I am not being fair here, for earlier this year I applied for, and received, two extra teachers for our special needs in English over and above our target. One lasted for two days, and the other has gone on to short time. These are things that happen, but the sum total is that we do not have enough people on the staff to cope completely with what I see as a terrifying problem at Coburg. It is not the child being taught at the migrant centre, many of whom are making amazing progress. The greater problem is that of the child in the middle who is falling between two stools. Unable to be dealt with in the migrant centre, they are still largely illiterate in English, largely illiterate in their mother tongue; they have not absorbed Australian cultural ideas,yet are in many cases ashamed of their ethnic origin. (Yet this is not completely true - many are proud of being Greek or Turkish, and this may be due to religious or social clannishness). In far too many cases, Coburg High School will turn them out when they turn 15, and they are destined to become the second-rate citizens that Alan Matheson spoke about this morning; they are destined to be the factory fodder; they are destined to be unable

to pull themselves up. I hope that their children can, or their grandchildren. When I taught in the Eastern suburbs, where migrant children were rare, (or indistinguishable from Australian pupils in English speaking ability) I believed that the second generation would be all right. All that was needed was that the children went to school for a while and all would be well. In two years I have learned a lot - I am now pessimistic and think the process will take longer than just the first or second generation.

If I can get away from the emotion and the complaints, we, at Coburg accept the bilingual program adopted by us in the last week or so because we are prepared to try out ideas that promise to alleviate our situation. We can fit these into our scheme of things. The limits of staff and time were also factors in our trial of the program. Changing attitudes of staff acknowledge that there is a serious problem to be tackled, and that this problem is not just at the non-English-speaking level. A couple of years ago, I think the attitude of many staff was that "they aren't learning because they are dumb. They can speak English, so they should be able to understand me", without realizing that basic social spoken English does not necessarily allow for comprehension of school-room English as

spoken by a subject teacher. To digress further, the change of attitude came from the acquisition of the house. Once you have one, you can ring up people and say "I have a house beautifully situated for Migrant English" and soon you have teachers. If classes have to be taken in corridors or locker rooms, migrant teachers who are wholly involved, as are the two earlier speakers, and as I know my teachers are involved, do not come. Once you have involved teachers, they talk to others over cups of tea at recess and lunchtime, and they alter attitudes of other teachers so that there comes an increasing awareness of this problem of identity, of language, and a realisation perhaps that these children have an advantage over us in that they do speak another language.

I hope that this bilingual program will tie in with the introduction of Italian to Coburg this year as what I hope will be the school language taught in the school, dominating or perhaps phasing out French eventually. In addition to Form I Italian, we are holding Italian classes after school for any pupil who wishes to attend them. These classes are run by CO AS IT (Comitato Assistenza Italiani). Pupils are encouraged to attend Saturday morning classes held elsewhere and we are prepared to give any group the opportunity of using school facilities for classes. For example, at the moment I think there may be classes

in Turkish held at the migrant centre on Sundays - at least negotiations are under way. Perhaps through these classes I may meet parents who otherwise would never be in touch with me. They rarely turn up, despite the efforts of a Turkish social worker from the local overworked Psychology and Guidance Branch.

Now to the program itself. It is being tried out on six Lebanese girls. Why this group? Because they are the last group to enter the school, and because they have been placed in the one form for mutual help and support when they are not at the migrant centre. We hope next term to run it in Turkish, Greek and Italian.

There is some feedback already within the week. Some parents have indicated that they are highly in favour of the scheme, and this could be significant to success. If we can show that we are prepared to do something "their" way instead of just in "our" way, links with the school may be established.

Other children are most anxious to get into the scheme, but extension, I feel, poses problems. There is a need in the scheme - ancillary staff or someone from the community - to check the work. I know that the program is supposed to be self-correcting, but I think that if a child writes something, someone needs to read it. If it is written in English we can do this, but if in Arabic, an

Arabic reader or audience is needed. We should be able to obtain ancillary staff to meet our needs, but where and how I don't know. Disadvantaged Schools Grant money specifically excludes employment of ancillary staff. I don't know where the money can come from; I don't know whether Arabic volunteers are available and this area needs to be looked at. I think that later we shall need many people to assist with the program.

For the future I hope that we can extend the program into the classrooms in many subject areas. I hope that not only our migrant centre will be involved, but migrant centres in other schools in close touch with each other on the bilingual program. Too many of us are scratching away in our own little areas, solving problems the hard way, and unaware that two miles down the road they have solved that particular problem. Had we known this, we could save ourselves much worry and needless effort. Thus close liaison and ancillary staff seem necessary. We need people - I would rather have people than equipment, because equipment needs to be programmed, operated and used by people, yet people can teach language and values, offer help and sympathy.

What is needed above all is a much greater awareness in the community generally that there is a migrant problem. If we do not do something about the problem, whether it be through bilingual programs or welfare officers or whatever the solutions are, we are going to create a society that I, for one, will be ashamed to hand over to my children. We are going to create a ghetto society, we are going to doom many migrants to the status of second-rate citizens, and that is not the sort of Australia I want to see in the future.

June English

Principal Brunswick Girls' High School

I read on the agenda sheet that I am going to talk about Practical Implications. Of what? So I thought "Well it must be the implications of putting theory into practice".

First of all we decided that bilingualism was going to apply to Australians as well as immigrants. An inner suburban school has not only migrants but also good old Aussies, and you have to look after them too. They were going to be able to learn Standard English and they were going to be able to learn immigrant languages. After all, if you work in Brunswick, if you are working in a factory, then you have got to be able to speak Italian or you are isola ed. If you want to shop in a range of shops in Sydney Road, then you need to be able to speak immigrant languages. The major language of the Brunswick society is Italian. But, of course, we want the kids to move beyond the Brunswick society, or at least have the right to make the decision to move beyond the Brunswick society, so therefore we want them to know the standard variant as well as dialects, which we don't denigrate.

We all have various linguistic styles. Each one of us varies our words according to the occasion. So it isn't just

a problem for migrants. The thing is we need all these language styles to move in all areas of society.

It is not enough to say we are going to work on a Greek bilingual program. We have got to know a lot more about it. I was sending out my letters to parents in formal Greek (Katherevousa) when I should have been sending them in the colloquial (Demotic Greek). There is also a lot of sensitivity around the area of dialect. One parent, said, "Oh, my daughter is not going to continue doing Italian. They teach them in Central Italian and I am a Northerner".

I agree with those speakers who have said effective communication is the important thing. Yes, communication is the important thing in all sorts of subjects about all sorts of content. As teachers, if we want to get a message across about a concept, about an idea, then we will ham it, the kids will play act it, we will mime it in drama, we will use all means to get the message across. But it is not enough to merely communicate, I think that we are going to disadvantage all our students unless we teach them also the standard language variant. It is not necessarily better language. One had only to listen in to

the New Guinea debate about which dialect should be made the official language to know that official language is a historical accident. But we must face up to the fact that the standard language is the official language. Standard English is the language of literature and the educated. So, if we are going to function well, if we are going to get those jobs or go to university, we must be able to speak standard English. If we are going to read the literature of any country we need access to the standard language.

As far as teaching the immigrant language goes, the kids have got to know the standard variant as well as using their dialects for communication in all sorts of ways. If they don't know the standard variant they can't read the literature, they can't get the jobs at the local solicitors typing out formal letters in the standard language. They have got to be able to spell. It can't remain a spoken language.

We also believe all students must be educated. It sounds funny hearing a Principal saying that, doesn't it, but it is a new thing at Brunswick. Before we just felt that all students should be taught English. It didn't matter if they were taught nothing else. Cut out maths - we don't get

maths. teachers anyway. Cut out science - we don't get science teachers anyway. We haven't got science rooms either. Forget all that. Give them arts and crafts? They don't need words there. A 'keep them happy syndrome'.

That's now out! We are ashamed of ourselves for ever having been patronizing and having thought that kids were congenitally deficient. We are against withdrawals. They are out too. They have gone. The kids were labelled. We had moved them from the educational scene. They were a damned nuisance anyway. We were glad to get rid of them. But withdrawals are out. Now it is main-stream support. Kids are going to be educated.

Right! So you set up a main-stream system. How does that work? For example, at English time four forms divide into sub-groups with as many teachers as required. We try to match up what the teacher has to give with what the kids need, but we make it so that it is fluid and flexible.

Because we didn't have enough teachers we introduced C.A.T., or Cross Age Tutoring. This is a time when students tutor other students. They do it as part of their ordinary

curriculum, they take C.A.T. as one of their options. There are about 90 students involved from Forms 6, 5, 4 and 3. They can tutor their peers but usually they tutor younger students, including students of primary school. They are paid by the hour.

If you have got a diverse student range, and it certainly is diverse, you need more people involved in the program. Don't think you are going to get more teachers, because you are not, so use the students. Sweated labour perhaps, but we are paying them. Student tutors are taught how to teach and help the students in the bilingual program. The kids have got looks of involvement on their faces and feel that they are understanding it all and that they are doing hard work. The librarian has noticed that more kids are borrowing books, that the migrant students are taking home a hard book in the immigrant language usually, and lots of easy books in the English language; whereas the Australian kids are doing the reverse, hard books in English and easy books in immigrant languages. So, there is a balanced situation and no one feels better than anybody else.

In a bilingual program, you want bilingual teachers with methods all over the curriculum. You no longer want specifically

a Greek teacher. You want a Greek teacher whose methods are maths. and science. We have a maths. teacher who speaks Italian and we would like to release her to float across the curriculum so that she can help underachieving maths. students with English language difficulties. The maths. teacher says, "She is a very intelligent student. She can do the maths. It is just that she cannot understand the linking words."

It is no good even thinking that you are going to teach in the first language (and mainly our bilingual program is used with 65 Form I students) unless you have a lot of resource material. You have just got to spend thousands of dollars on the library, thousands of dollars.

What we are trying to do is, not only to perceive difference, but to really use it and grow it to the point that it becomes a most superb advantage.

We divide Form I students into forms according to their ethnic groups. We have a Turkish group with a Turkish form teacher, their pastoral teacher. She makes the home visits. She can speak to the parents in their first language. An Italian teacher participates in the bilingual program in the same way. She can communicate with the home. She can see that the kids do homework in their first language.

We were very concerned that we shouldn't create ghettos in the school by dividing kids into form groups on an ethnic basis, so they only work in ethnic groups for ten periods a week. During the other twenty they are divided heterogenously for drama, music, maths.,unit studies, arts and crafts, science and religious education.

We have Ethnic Parent Councils where the parents come in and conduct meetings in their first language. The form teacher, the pastoral teacher is at those meetings. We run standard language classes. We have a bilingual creche. We looked for a leader who could speak Italian. I am employing a bilingual office girl who will do accounts. She speaks Italian. She can answer most phone calls. It is important not to have to drag teachers out of class. You should have bilingual staff in the office. You should have bilingual staff in the library.

We are quite straightforward and forthright about saying "Yes, we are educating for careers and we are trying to credential kids for careers". We are determined that the full range of career options will be available to our students.

We believe there is no implicit disadvantage in being a migrant provided that teachers and schools dignify difference and develop new programs to utilize the vast cultural riches of our extensive immigrant population and their offspring. I believe we are mature enough to accept and encourage cultural pluralism. We should not ask people to choose between equally valid lifestyles. There is room for diversity.